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Part III.

EXPLANATION OF A MONGOL-CHINESE MEDIÆVAL MAP OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

An interesting specimen of mediæval cartography, showing the geographical knowledge possessed by the Chinese (or rather Mongols), in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of the countries west of China and Mongolia, has come down to us in the form of a rude map which has survived from a large work treating of the institutes of the Mongol empire and published in the first half of the fourteenth century. The title of this extensive work was *King shi ta tien ;* but it seems that now only fragments of it exist. The library of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking was in former times in possession of a manuscript copy of one chapter of the work, containing an enumeration of the stations on the post-roads in China Proper and a part of Mongolia. This now belongs to the library of the Rumiantsoff Museum at Moscow.

This Chinese mediæval map, which may serve as a pendant to the curious *Catalan map* of the year 1375, reproduced, as far as Asia is concerned, in Yule's "Cathay," bears the title *Yüan King shi ta tien si pei pi ti li t'u*, or "Map from the King shi ta tien of the Yüan dynasty, representing the countries to the north-west (of China Proper)." I have seen two copies of it. One of them, in the library of the Russian Mission, was made, as the late Archimandrite Palladius informed me, from the original in the Chinese Imperial Library. Palladius, in his translation of Ch'ang Ch'un's travels, reproduces this map in Russian spelling, without however venturing any identification of the geographical and other proper names found in it. The other copy I discovered in the first edition of the *Hai kuo t'u chi* (1844), a modern Chinese work on the historical geography of Asia.[785]

More than a *hundred* names of places and countries of Central and Western Asia, and even Eastern Europe, appear on our Chinese mediæval map in Chinese characters; and we shall see that almost all these names can be easily identified with geographical names occurring in the writings of the Mohammedan authors of that period, or in the narratives of European mediæval travellers through Asia.

At the end of the geographical part of the *Yüan shi,* in chap. xliii., there is an appendix entitled *Si pei ti, i.e.,* "the countries to the north-west (of China Proper)." It consists of an enumeration of countries and places. Occasionally some descriptive details are added. Even a superficial comparison proves that the Si pei ti and the ancient map from the King shi ta tien correspond, the former being a list of the countries and places marked on the map. There are, however, in the Si pei ti some names of places which are omitted from the map; and a few names appearing on the map are not found in the text of the Si pei ti.

The map of Central and Western Asia from the King shi ta tien seems to be the oldest Chinese cartographical production extant. There is no doubt that the Chinese possessed maps of China, and even of the countries west of China, Central Asia, at a far earlier period. Stan. Julien, in his "Mél. de Géogr. Asiat.," 199 *seq.*, mentions several Chinese works of the seventh century, treating of Western countries and accompanied with maps. There was the *Sui Si yü t'u ki*, "Description of the Countries in the West, with maps," published A.D. 606, at the time of the Sui dynasty. A similar work, entitled, *T'ang Si yü t'u chi*, also with maps, was published A.D. 650. But these books have long been lost, together with their maps, and only fragments of them have survived in the form of quotations in other works.[786] The historical maps presented in the above-mentioned Hai kuo t'u chi are all of the author's own invention, and therefore mere nonsense, without any value. He used no ancient historical map, nor does he even mention the above-quoted ancient works on Western countries. Thus the map of the countries in the West, at the time of the Yüan dynasty, as given in the Hai kuo t'u chi, and translated by Pauthier in his "M. Polo," is not a genuine map of the Mongol period, as he seems to believe.[787]

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[785] The Hai kuo t'u chi is a book well known to European sinologues. Pauthier, in his "M. Polo," quotes it frequently. Stan. Julien, in his "Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique," i. 124 *seq.*, gives a long review of it, and explains the numerous historical maps of Asia found at the beginning of the work, with the only exception of that curious map which forms the subject of my investigations in the present section. He passes it over in silence, although it is the only interesting map in the book; the rest of the historical maps the Chinese author produces being pure inventions of his fancy, without any value. The great sinologue was apparently puzzled to know what to say of this map; and, indeed, when seeing it for the first time, without other indications, it is difficult to guess what it is intended to represent, all the more so as, according to our cartographical conceptions, it is turned upside down. In Chinese maps anterior to the arrival of the Jesuits, *South* is always at the *top* and *North* at the bottom.

The Chinese mediæval map on which we are now about to comment, although very interesting as an ancient document, has no high claim to correctness and completeness. At first sight it is even difficult to realise that a geographical map (in our modern Western sense) has been intended. We find no rivers, lakes, or mountains marked. The whole sheet appears covered by regular squares formed by straight rectangular lines. Each side of these squares seems to represent 100 Chinese *li*. Some of the squares contain Chinese characters, names of countries and places. Besides the above-mentioned straight (fine) lines, we observe on the map also some thicker lines, stretching irregularly, and intended evidently to mark political divisions. Thus the map appears divided into three parts, each of the parts being provided with a denomination in large characters. In the same way the list of geographical names in the *Si pei ti* is divided into three sections with the same headings as on the map, viz., the most eastern part shows the characters *Du-lai tʻie-mu-rh;* the north-western division is marked *Yüe-dsu-bu;* the south-western, *Bu-sai-yin.*

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[786] The preface of the *Si yü t'u ki* has been preserved in the history of the Sui dynasty. Professor C. F. Neumann translated it into German in his "Asiatische Studien," 1837.

[787] Pauthier, however, does not represent the configuration of the original map of the Hai kuo t'u chi, but adapts it to our geographical knowledge. The original map has no resemblance to the truth.

As has been noticed above, the map in question belonged originally to the *King shi ta tien,* a work apparently corresponding to the *Ta Tsʻing Hui tien* of the present dynasty, which treats of the various institutes of the government. We find in the Yüan shi, Annals, *s. a.* 1331, the following statement: "The Emperor ordered the members of the *Han lin yüan* (National Academy) and others to collect all the documents referring to the institutes of the (Mongol) dynasty, and to publish a work on the model of the *Hui yao,* of the *Tʻang* and the *Sung* dynasties,[788] and to entitle it *King shi ta tien.*" This is all I have been able to gather respecting this work. The date of its publication, A.D. 1331, or a few years later, aids us in explaining the above-mentioned three names on the map, viz., *Du-lai tʻie-mu-rh, Yüe-dsu-bu,* and *Bu-sai-yin,* which can easily be recognised as the names of the Mongol Khans reigning, according to the Persian authors, at the time spoken of in *Turkestan, Kipchak,* and *Persia,* viz., *Dure Timur, Uzbeg,* and *Abu Said;*[789] and thus we are enabled to see that the map is intended to represent the three Mongol empires west of China, governed by the descendants of Chinghiz Khan. All the other names on the map, written in smaller characters, denote countries and cities situated in these tracts; and we meet especially with such names as are mentioned by the Mohammedan authors in connection with the wars of that period. The greater part of them do not appear in the Chinese or Mongol annals, whilst others, spoken of in the annals, have been omitted from the map.

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[788] Wylie's "Notes on Chin. Lit.," 56.

[789] We may observe that *Abu Said,* Ilkhan of Persia, 1317–35, is called *Bussay* by the Archbishop of Sultaniah ("The Book of the Estate of the Great Caan," 1330; see Yule's "Cathay," 238). Pegolotti, who wrote about the same time, terms him *Bonsaet.* He is called *Busaid* by some Arabic writers and on some Mongol coins. The Pope, in addressing him, calls him *Boyssethan* (*i.e.,* Busain Khan). Comp. Yule, *l. c.* 299; d'Ohsson, iv. 716. *Uzbeg,* 1312–42, is called *Ozbiak* in the Russian annals, and *Usbech* by the Archbishop of Sultaniah. The Uzbegs of our days derive their name from this prince.

If we take into consideration the time when this cartographical attempt was constructed in the Far East, and the great distance from China of the countries represented, we must of course be indulgent as to the topographical blunders which occasionally appear on the map. Apparently it has been executed in China, and that only from hearsay. Hence the relative positions of the places are not always in accordance with fact. It is remarkable, however, that the names, when compared with the same as given by the Persian historiographers, show as close an approximation to the original sound as the Chinese language is capable of expressing. It is needless to observe that the principal value of the map consists in its high antiquity, and in the picture it gives us of the geographical knowledge the Mongols and Chinese possessed in the Middle Ages of the countries west of China.

Before commenting upon the countries and places mentioned on the map or in the Si pei ti, it may be well to say a few words on the origin and history of the three great Mongol monarchies in the western half of Asia, which, together with the dominions of the Great Khan (Mongolia, China Proper, Tibet), formed the vast empire conquered by Chinghiz and his successors.

According to the instructions given by Chinghiz Khan, his empire, after his death, was divided among his sons, *Ogotai*, *Djuchi*, and *Chagatai*. Ogotai (the third son) with the title of Great Khan, then reigned over China

Proper, Mongolia, Tibet, Annam, &c.; Chagatai (the second son), in Turkestan and Transoxiana; whilst the countries north of the Caspian Sea and around the lake of Khorazm (Aral), Russia, with Poland, &c., had been bestowed upon Djuchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz, or, as he died before his father, these dominions fell to the share of his sons. This dynasty is generally called the *Golden Horde* (Russian annals), or *Desht Kipchak* (Mohammedan authors). The Khans resided in *Sarai*, on the bank of the Akhtuba, a branch of the Lower Volga. The author of the Tarikh Djihankushai (d'Ohsson, ii. 2) states that the dominions of Djuchi extended to the west as far as the soil had been trodden by Tartar horses. In the Yüan history (chap. cxvii., biography of Djuchi) we read that the land assigned to him was situated north-west of the residence (Peking), and very far off. It takes two hundred days to reach that country when travelling by the post-road. Owing to this remoteness, it is very imperfectly known. Tului, the fourth son of Chinghiz, obtained by inheritance only an appanage between the mountains of *Karakorum* and the sources of the *Onan* (Onon river in Northern Mongolia), and also his father's private property. But after the death of Ogotai's son *Kuyuk* (Great Khan, 1246–48), Tului's son *Mangu* was placed on the throne of China, in 1251; and thus the descendants of Tului became the reigning branch in Eastern Asia; Ogotai had originally his appanage on the river *Imil*, south-west of the present Chuguchak. When the princes of this branch revolted against Mangu Khan, they fortified their possessions. *Kaidu*, the grandson of Ogotai,[790] subsequently conquered a part of Turkestan, and for thirty years disputed the suzerainty with the Great Khan Kubilai.

The tract assigned by Chinghiz, in the distribution of his provinces, to his son Chagatai, embraced Mavar-annahar (Transoxiana), and part of Khorazm, the Uigur country, Kashgar, Badakhshan, and the province of Ghazna to the banks of the Sind. Bishbalik, north of the Eastern T'ien shan (see note 157), was at first the head-quarters of the khans, which was subsequently transferred to *Almalik* (near the present Kuldja). At an early date, however, in the history of Chagatai's dynasty, the claims of *Kaidu* to the supreme khanship seem to have led to a partition of the Chagatai territory, for Kaidu held under his own immediate sway a large tract, the greater part of which belonged apparently to the appanage of Chagatai, over which Kaidu exercised superiority. It is not very clear what were the limits between Kaidu's territory and that of the Chagatai Khans; but it may be gathered that Kaidu's dominions included Kashgar and Yarkand, and all the cities bordering on the south side of the T'ien shan as far east as Karakhoja, as well as the valley of the Talas River, and all the country north of the T'ien shan from Lake Balkash eastward to the Chagan Nor, and the country farther north between the Upper Yenisei and the Irtysh. During a great part of Kaidu's struggles, he found a staunch ally in *Dua*, the son of Borak, whom he had set upon the throne of Chagatai in 1272. After Kaidu's death in 1301, his son and successor, *Chabar*,[791] joined with Dua in making submission to Timur, the successor of Kubilai; but before long the two former princes having quarrelled, Dua seized the territory of Chabar, and thus substantially reunited the whole of the original appanage of Chagatai, as it had been before the schism of Kaidu (Yule's "Cathay," 522).

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[790] He was a son of *Kashi*, son of Ogotai. Kaidu is called *Hai-du* in the Yüan shi, and his father *Ho-shi* (chap. cvii., geneal. tabl.). Hai-du's name is frequently mentioned in the annals of the Yüan shi, reign of Kubilai.

At the time our map was constructed (about 1330), there seems to have been only one empire in Central

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[791] Dua's name in the Yüan shi reads *Du-wa.* Chabar is called *Ch'a-ba-rh* there. The latter had the Chinese title *Ju ning wang* (prince of *Ju ning*, which latter is still the name of a city in the province of Honan). See Yüan shi, chaps. cvii., cviii., geneal. tabl.

Asia, ruled by a khan of the lineage of Chagatai; for the map, and likewise the Si pei ti, include all the places of Uiguria, Turkestan, Transoxiana, Kabul, Badakhshan, &c., in the empire of *Du-lai t'ie-mu-rh*, by which latter name doubtless *Dure Timur*, a son of *Dua*, is intended. He was khan of the Chagatai empire about 1330. See d'Ohsson, iv., geneal. tabl. 2, branche de Tchagatai.

The countries west of the Djihun or Oxus (Persia) conquered by Chinghiz were, after the death of the conqueror, at first considered as common property by his sons, and accordingly governed by mutual agreement (d'Ohsson, iii. 104). When, however, Hulagu, the brother of Mangu Khan, had conquered the rest of Persia and overthrown the Calif of Bagdad, in 1258, he was invested by his brother with the title of *Ilkhan*, and ruled over Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Armenia. He was the founder of the Mogul dynasty known under the name of the *Ilkhans*, who maintained themselves in those countries, partly, at least, down to the time when the Great Timur or Tamerlane overran Western Asia, in the end of the fourteenth century. It may be concluded from the records of the Mohammedan authors that, on the west, the Chagatai or Middle empire was separated from the dominions of the Ilkhans by the Djihun or Oxus River, and the boundary seems to be thus represented also on the ancient map. As to *Abu Said* (the *Bu-sai-yin* on the map), he was a descendant of Hulagu, in the fourth degree, and reigned over Persia, 1317–35. See d'Ohsson, iv., geneal. tabl. 1.

As regards the khans of the Golden Horde, or Desht Kipchak, who had their residence in Sarai (*v. supra*), their dominions were situated west of the Middle empire, and north of the empire of the Ilkhans. Our ancient map assigns them to *Yue-dsu-bu*, by which name evidently *Uzbeg* is meant, a descendant in the fifth degree of Chinghiz Khan's son Djuchi. Comp. note 789.

Thus we have in the first half of the fourteenth century, at the time when our Chinese mediæval map was constructed, three great Mongol monarchies west of China. Nominally the khans of these empires owned a supreme head in the Great Khan reigning in China; but practically they are generally considered to have been nearly independent. We know, however, from letters of the Persian khans Argun and Oeldjaitu, addressed to the King of France in 1289 and 1305, that they continued to use the Chinese seals of state which the Great Khan bestowed upon them (Pauthier's "M. Polo," 777, 781). They stamped also the name of the Great Khan upon their coins, and designated themselves merely as *daruga* or governors (d'Ohsson, iii. 410).

It is also worthy of notice that the khans of Turkestan and Persia, and even those reigning over the territories east and west of the Volga (Golden Horde), had their appanages in China, and that up to the fourteenth century, as we may fairly assume from the evidence I shall produce from the Yüan History.

In the Yüan shi, Annals, *s. a.* 1236 (Northern China then had just been subdued by the Mongols), we read: "The Emperor granted to the empress-dowager, the princes and princesses, appanages in China. (They are all enumerated, and also the appanages. I shall only mention three.) *Wa-lu-do* and *Ba-du* (Orda and Batu, both sons of Djuchi) received the department of *P'ing yang* (in the province of Shansi); and *Ch'a-ha-dai* (Chagatai) received *T'ai yüan* (also in Shansi). Ye-lü Ch'uts'ai (Ogotai's minister) presented a report pointing out the inadequacy of such a management; whereupon the Emperor ordered *da-lu-hua-ch'i* (daruga=Mongol governors) to be appointed over the land given as appanages, and that the princes and others should merely receive the revenues." A whole chapter in the Yüan shi (xcv., *sui sz'*) is devoted to the pensions and revenues from appanages which the princes, princesses, sons-in-law of the emperor, and meritorious officers annually drew from the public treasury; and there we find the names of princes of all branches of Chinghiz Khan's house. In chap. cviii., under the head of *chu wang*,[792] we find again the names of the Mongol princes under different reigns, and their appanages also enumerated. Sometimes they are entitled *wang* (prince), sometimes *ta wang* (great prince). When they had an appanage in China, the name of it is prefixed to the title *wang*. Comp. note 791.

To elucidate the question of the dependency of the Mongol khans of the Golden Horde of Persia and the Middle empire, I may quote some statements of Mohammedan and Chinese authors, giving an insight into the relations between these rulers and the Great Khan in China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Vassaf records two embasssies from the khans of Persia to the Emperor of China. We read in d'Ohsson, iv. 320: In 1298 *Ghazan Khan* sent two ambassadors, the Melik Moʿazzam Fakhr-eddin Ahmed and Bocaï Ilchi, to the court of the great Khan Timur, his suzerain. They carried with them magnificent presents, big pearls, and other rare things of great value. They brought also some hunting-leopards (comp. M. Polo, i. 384). . . . Ghazan provided the ambassadors with a large sum of money to buy for him certain productions of China. . . . They arrived at Taidu (the present Peking), and were kindly received by the Great Khan, who gave orders also to pay to the khan of Persia in silk stuffs his share in the imperial manufacture, which had not been paid since Hulagu had left Mongolia (1253). Ghazan's embassy remained four years in Taidu.

The Yüan shi also speaks of an embassy sent by Ghazan to the Emperor of China, but records it a few years later than Vassaf. Another embassy may be meant. We read there, Annals, *s.a.* 1304: "In the seventh month an embassy from the *chu wang* (prince) *Ha-dsan* in the *Si yü* (Western Asia) arrived at the court with tribute." Ghazan Khan reigned 1295–1304. This is probably the embassy to which Montecorvino alludes in his letter of 1306 (see Yule's "Cathay," 204). Montecorvino states in this letter that he had previously sent a letter to the father vicar and the friars of Gazaria by a certain friend who was attached to the court of the lord *Kathan Cham* (Ghazan Khan), and who had come to his majesty the Cham. The friend had taken the letter when returning from Cambalec (Peking) to Persia.

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[792] *Chu wang* means "princes of the imperial family." Even the khans reigning over Persia, Turkestan, and Kipchak are always entitled *chu wang* in the Yüan shi.

The second embassy sent by a khan of Persia to the Great Khan left Persia in about 1312, according to Vassaf (d'Ohsson, ii. 535). The Great Khan of China, *Ayur bali batra,*[793] after his accession to the throne, sent two ambassadors, Ayadji Chinksank and Devlet Shah, to Persia. They arrived at Bagdad, where the Sultan Oeldjaitu spent the winter, in February 1312, when they delivered the presents of the Great Khan with letters written in the kindliest terms. Subsequently Oeldjaitu (he reigned in Persia 1304–17), on his part, sent an embassy to the Great Khan. The embassy was charged with collecting the arrears of income which were owing to the Ilkhan from the possessions he held in the East as one of the descendants of Chinghiz.

The annals of the Yüan shi record, *s. a.* 1332, an embassy sent by *Bu-sai-yin,* prince of the *Si yü* (Western Asia) to the Emperor *Wen tsung* (Tob timur). The name of the ambassador was *Ho-dji K'ie-mad-ding* (Khodja Kamareddin?). He brought as tribute seven precious stones and other articles. Bu-sai-yin is Abu Said, Ilkhan of Persia, 1317–36, the same whose name appears on the ancient map.

In the biography of *Dju ch'i*, the eldest son of Chinghiz (Yüan shi, chap. cxvii.), it is stated that his dominions were situated very far to the north-west, more than 10,000 *li* distant from the capital (of China). One of his successors, *Yüe-dsi-bie* in 1336, sent an Embassy to the Emperor, soliciting the payment of the money due for his appanage in China, namely, *P'ing yang* (in Shan si), *Tsin chou* (in Chili), and *Yung chou* (in Hu nan), this money being required for the establishment of post-stations to facilitate the movement of the troops. The ambassador also reminded the Emperor that the post-stations in Yüe-dsi-bie's dominions were not kept in repair by the central government in China, but that he himself had to meet the expense. By *Yüe-dsi-bie* evidently Uzbeg, khan of Kipchak, 1312–43, is meant. Comp. note 789.

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[793] The Yüan shi writes this name *Ai-yü-li ba-li ba-da.* He was also called *Buyantu Khan,* 1312–20.

The annals of the Yüan shi record, *s. a.* 1312, that the prince *Ye-sien-bu-hua* sent an embassy to the Chinese court. This is doubtless the *Issen buka* of the Mohammedan authors. He ascended the throne of Chagatai in 1309. Ibidem, *s. a.* 1315, it is reported that the people in the dominions of the prince *T'u-li-tie-mu-rh* being afflicted with dearth, the Emperor gave orders to assist them with money. T'u-lie-t'ie-mu-rh here is the same as *Du-lai-t'ie-mu-rh* on the ancient map, and *Dure timur* of the Mohammedan authors, khan of the Chagatai empire about 1330. See d'Ohsson, iv. geneal. tabl. 2. Dure timur's successor was, according to d'Ohsson, *Tarma shirin.* In the Yüan shi, Annals, *s. a.* 1332, an embassy of the princes *T'a-rh shi-li* and *Ha-rh-man* to the Chinese court is recorded (by the first name Tarma shirin seems to be intended). They sent as tribute fine Western horses, wine made of grapes, and gold-coloured *ya-hu.*[794] On the same page the death of the Prince *Ye-sien t'ie-mu-rh* is noticed. Here probably *Issen timur* of the Mohammedan authors is meant, a grandson of Dua. See d'Ohsson's geneal. tabl.

In the genealogical tables of the Mongol imperial family, as given in chaps. cvii., cviii., and xcv. of the Yüan shi, we find the pedigrees of the branches of *Djuchi* and *Chagatai* and of *Hulagu's* dynasty in Persia. The greater part of the names found in these lists can easily be identified with the names of the genealogical tables drawn up by d'Ohsson from the records of the Persian historians. I shall give the pedigrees of the above-mentioned branches according to the Yüan shi. There is some confusion in the Chinese list regarding the degree of kindred. In Djuchi's biography, chap. cxvii., some of his grandsons and great-grandsons are erroneously represented as his sons.

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[794] The precious stone *yakut.* See note 503.

I may observe that Plano Carpini, in his narrative, gives also a list of the Mongol princes of the house of Chinghiz. See notes 742 to 747. For the same names as given by the Mohammedan authors, comp. d'Ohsson, vi. geneal. tabl. 1, 2, 3.

BRANCH OF *DJU-CHI*.

Djuchi of the Mohammedan authors, Chinghiz' eldest son. Pl. Carpini, 655, 664, calls him *Tossuc* (evidently a clerical error).

Ba-du, great prince (*ta wang*).

Djuchi's son, the conqueror of Russia. See note 741, *Batu.*

Sa-li-ta, great prince (*ta wang*).

Son of Batu, 1256. See note 459, *Sartakh.* See also the notice of this prince in Patkanoff's "History of the Mongols from Armenian Sources," p. 73.

Mang-k‘o t‘ie-mu-rh, prince (*wang*).

Mangu timur, 1265–80, grandson of Batu (d'Ohsson).

T‘u-t‘u meng-k‘o, prince (*wang*).

Tuda Mangu, 1280–87, grandson of Batu (d'Ohsson).

T‘u-t‘u, prince of *Ning su.*

Tuctuca, 1291–1312, son of Mangu timur (d'Ohsson). *Ning su wang*, as he is entitled in the Chinese table, was probably an honorific title bestowed upon this prince by the Emperor of China; for there was no place called *Ning su* in China.

K‘uan-sa, entitled likewise *Ning su wang.*

This name is not found in d'Ohsson's table of the khans of Kipchak. Perhaps the *Conchi* of "M. Polo," ii. 478, is intended, the head of the White Horde, called also *Kubinji.* See Howorth's "Mongols," ii. 217.

Bo-hu, great prince (*ta wang*).

Yüe-dsi-bie, ta wang.

Uzbeg, grandson of Mangu timur, 1312–42. See note 789.

Dja-ni-bie.

Djanibeg, 1342–56, son of Uzbeg (d'Ohsson).

Thus in this Chinese list almost all the reigning khans of the Golden Horde (Kipchak) are enumerated, down to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Batu had many brothers. The Mohammedan authors mention *Orda*, *Tangut*, *Shiban*, *Shinkur*, *Barkai*, *Toka timur*. Orda is called *Wa-lu-do* in the Yüan shi. Shiban's name is there written *Si-ban* (see note 746). The Mohammedan authors report (d'Ohsson, ii. 251) that when Mangu was elected Great Khan, Batu sent his brothers *Barkai* and *Toka timur* to attend this solemnity. We read in the annals of the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1251, regarding the same matter: "At the great meeting on the river *Wa-nan* (Onon), in the sixth month, the princes of the western side were represented by *Bie-rh-kʻo* and *Tʻu-ha tʻie-mu-rh.*"

BRANCH OF *CHʻA-HO-TʻAI.*

Chagatai of the Mohammedan authors, second son of Chinghiz. Pl. Carpini (665) calls him *Chyaadai.*

Ye-su meng-kʻo, prince (wang).

Yissu mangu, 1247–52, son of Chagatai (d'Ohsson).

Ha-la hü-lie, great prince (ta wang).

Kara Hulagu, 1242–47, grandson of Chagatai (d'Ohsson).

A-lu-hu, ta wang.

Algu, 1260–66, grandson of Chagatai.

Ba-la, ta wang.

Borak, 1268, great-grandson of Chagatai (d'Ohsson).

Mai-dju-han, with the title of *Yen wang*, prince of *Yen*, A.D. 1310.

Yen, in the south of Shan tung.

A-dji-ghi, with the title of *Wei yüan wang.*

Wei yüan, in the province of Sz' chʻuan.

Hu-du tʻie-mu-rh.

Chʻi-yin-tʻie-mu-rh.

Tʻu-la, with the title of *Yüe wang*, A.D. 1306.

According to his biography, Yüan shi, 117, he was a descendant of Chagatai in the fourth degree.

Tʻie-mu-rh bu-hua, wang.

Nan-tʻa-shi-li.

It seems that only the first four names of this Chinese genealogical table refer to the reigning branch of the Chagatai lineage. As to the rest of the names, I find no corroboration in d'Ohsson's list. But, as has been noticed above, *Dua*, the son of Borak, *Issen buka*, *Dure timur*, and *Tarma shirin*, all sons of Dua and reigning khans of the Middle empire in the first half of the fourteenth century, according to the Mohammedan authors, are mentioned in other chapters of the Yüan shi.

BRANCH OF *HÜ-LIE-WU.*

Hulagu, Ilkhan of Persia, 1258–65. See note 281.

A-ba-ha, prince (wang).
Abaca, 1265–82, son of Hulagu.

A-lu-hun, great prince (ta wang).
Argun, 1284–91, son of Abaka (d'Ohsson). In the biography of *Ai-sie*, Yüan shi, chap. cxxxiv., it is stated that Ai-sie was sent with a message to *A-lu-hun*, prince in the north-west. In the annals of the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1284, this name reads *A-rh-hun.*

Ha-dsan, prince of *Tsing yüan* (in Ho nan).
Ghazan Khan, 1295–1304, the son of Argun (d'Ohsson).

The rest of the names in this Chinese genealogical table cannot be identified with the names of the Persian khans in d'Ohsson's list. Probably the Yüan shi gives the names of a lateral branch of Hulagu's descendants. Thus the name of *Abu Said*, Ilkhan of Persia, 1317–35, repeatedly mentioned in other chapters of the Yüan shi (see above), does not appear in the genealogical table of Hulagu's lineage.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF THE CHINESE MEDIÆVAL MAP.

I may observe that the map appended to this chapter is a reproduction of the original Chinese map. I have only omitted the fine rectangular lines, not the thicker lines indicating the political division. The centres of the places (squares), where in the original the Chinese characters representing the names appear, have been marked on my map by points. The names are written in European spelling. Besides this, my map is presented, for the convenience of European readers, upside down, *i.e.*, North is at the top.

I.—Countries and Places East and South of the Middle Empire (Chagatai).

As the *Si pei ti* enumerates only countries and cities belonging to the three empires of the descendants of Chagatai, Djuchi, and Hulagu, the following six names of the ancient map are omitted from the list given in that note.

SHA CHOU.

Sha chou means "sand city" or "sand district" in Chinese. This name dates from A.D. 622, when it was founded by the first emperor of the T'ang dynasty. But there was at the same place, or near it, an important outpost of China even in the second century B.C. The Han Emperor Wu ti, B.C. 111, established there, west of the gate *Kia yü kuan* in the Great Wall, and at the eastern border of the sandy desert known to the Chinese from remote time as *Liu sha* (moving sand), a fortified town and a district called *Tun huang.* This was the starting-point of the early expeditions of the Chinese towards the West. The Chinese Buddhist monk *Hüan ts'ang*, as is recorded by his biographer, on his way from China to Central Asia in A.D. 629, after passing *Kua chou* (see note 998), arrived at *Tun huang*. But in the itinerary of his homeward journey, sixteen years later, the name of *Sha chou* appears instead of Tun huang. In the eighth century, Sha chou was captured by the Tibetans; subsequently the Uigurs of Kan chou seized the district of Sha chou. In the eleventh century it belonged to the Hia or Tangut empire, and after the destruction of this kingdom by the Mongols in 1227, and the foundation of the Mongol-Chinese empire, Sha chou became a "*lu*," or department in the province of Kan su.

M. Polo, when proceeding from the city of *Lop* to China, passed through Sha chou. He states (i. 206): "After you have travelled thirty days through the desert" (the "moving sands" of the Chinese), "you come to a city called *Sachiu*, lying between north-east and east; it belongs to the Great Kaan."

In ancient times the great highway from China to Central Asia passed through Sha chou, and not only the Lopnor route taken by M. Polo, but also the northern route leading through Hami touches Sha chou, as may be proved from ancient, and even more recent, Chinese itineraries.

At the time of the Ming dynasty, Sha chou was an important military station. In the last century the name of Sha chou was changed again into its original name *Tun huang*, which now-a-days is a district city in the province of Kan su. General Przewalsky was the first European traveller who, since the time of the Jesuit missionaries, visited the oasis of Sha chou in 1879. He informs us ("Tibet," 93) that Sha chou is also called *Tun huang*. The great Chinese map of the empire, however, places ancient Sha chou about 100 *li* south-west of Tun huang. But this seems to be an error (see note 998).

KO-MU-LI=KAMUL, HAMI.

This is without doubt the *Camul* of M. Polo. That traveller states (i. 212) that this province, with the chief city of the same name, lies between two deserts—the great desert of Lop, and on the other side a smaller desert. It belongs to the great Caan. Rashid-eddin, who wrote about the close of the thirteenth century, when the Middle empire was for the greater part in the possession of Kaidu, then engaged in a struggle with Kubilai, records (d'Ohsson, ii. 640) that *Karakhodjo* (see farther on), a city of the Uigurs, lies between the two states and maintains neutrality. Our ancient map locates *Ko-mu-li* east of the Middle empire, but close to the frontier. Karakhodjo is placed there, west of Ko-mu-li, inside the Middle empire.

M. Polo is the first Western author who mentions Kamul, but he did not himself visit the place. Marignolli was in *Kamul* in 1342, and seems to have spent some considerable time there. This city appears to have been the see of a Nestorian bishop in the thirteenth century (Yule's "Cathay," 390; "M. Polo," i. 213). It reads *Camull* on the Catalan map.

Kamul is the Turkish name of the place; the Mongols call it *Khamil* (Potanin, Mongolia); the Chinese, *Ha-mi*. This latter name, however, appears for the first time in the Chinese annals not earlier than the Mongol period. In ancient times this fertile oasis was known to the Chinese by other names. It is first mentioned in Chinese history in the first century of our era under the name of *I-wu-lu* or *I-wu*. In the history of the posterior Han dynasty, chap. cxviii., article *Si yü* (Western countries), it is stated that I-wu-lu is an important place, situated in a fertile country 1000 *li* north of the fortress of *Yü men kuan*, and represents the key to the Si yü. This oasis belonged originally to the *Hiung-nu*, the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia. It was taken by the Chinese A.D. 73, who then established military colonies there. Some centuries later it was again occupied by the Turkish tribes of Mongolia. At the time of the T'ang dynasty, in the seventh and eighth centuries, I-wu-lu was subject to China, and its name was then changed into *I chou.* Thus the place is called in the narrative of *Wang Yen te,* who, in A.D. 981, was sent by a Chinese emperor of the Sung dynasty to the Uigurs of Kao chang, who at that time ruled also over Hami.

In the Yüan shi we first meet with the present Chinese name of the place, *Ha-mi.* This name is found in chap. cxxii., biography of the Uigur Prince Ba-rh-dju. But more generally the Yüan shi writes the name *Ho-mi-li* or *Ko-mi-li.* See Annals, *s. a.* 1286. The Emperor bestowed money and cattle upon the impoverished people of *Ko-mi-li* and *Ha-la-ho-djo* (Karakhodjo). *Sub anno* 1289, the people of *Ko-mi-li* are stated to have been again afflicted with dearth. The Emperor then ordered corn to be sent from the province of Kan su to *Ko-mi-li.*

T'A-SHI-BA-LI=TASHBALIK.

The Chinese name is probably intended for *Tashbalik,* meaning "stone city" in Turkish. The place is marked on the ancient map east of Kamul. I have not been able to trace this name in any Western or Eastern author as applied to a city near Kamul. I may, however, observe that the above-quoted traveller, *Wang Yen te,* A.D. 981, proceeding from China to Kao chang, before arriving at *I chou* (Kamul) passed through *Siao Shi chou* or "Little Stone City."

T'U-BO-T'E=TIBET.

The names we use in Europe to designate the mountainous country bordering upon China Proper on the west, *Tibet, Tübet, Tebet,* are all apparently derived from the Arabic; for the name of *Tibet* among Western authors first occurs in the Eastern Travels of the Arab merchant Soleyman, who visited, according to Reinaud, China in the middle of the ninth century. In the same century the Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadbih states that China is bounded by the sea, by *Tibet*, and by the country of the Turks. Masudi (beginning of the tenth century) frequently mentions Tibet.

Now-a-days this latter name is unknown to the natives of Tibet, who call their country *Bot*, which is also the Indian name for Tibet. But Markham, in his "Missions to Tibet," p. 136 note, is wrong in stating that *Tibet* is a Persian word. As will be shown in the sequel, this name was known at an early date to the eastern and northern neighbours of the Tibetans, and the Arab travellers heard it evidently first in China. It would seem that in ancient times the Tibetans themselves applied this name to their country.

The most detailed accounts of the early history of Tibet are to be found in the histories of the Chinese dynasties. Father Hyacinth in his history of Tibet and Kukonor, in Russian, 2 vols. and a map, 1833, has translated from the Chinese annals all the historical records regarding the Tibetans and Tanguts; but his translation concludes with the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1880 my friend S. W. Bushell, M.D., translated, in the *Journal R. A. Soc.*, the chapters referring to Tibet in the history of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618–907.

In the early historical records of the Chinese, the foreign tribes living west of China Proper are comprised in the general name *K'iang* or *Si K'iang* (Western K'iang). These names occur in the Chinese classics. Since the seventh century Tibet has been termed *Tu-fan* in the Chinese annals. This name in the history of the T'ang is applied to a powerful kingdom bordering upon China on the west, which during the T'ang period caused much trouble to the empire. It is said there that the T'u-fan people originated from the *K'iang*. The character *fan* in the above name, as first shown by Rémusat, ought properly to be read *po*, being written with a phonetic, which has the two sounds *fan* and *po*. This is confirmed by an inscription in Tibetan and Chinese from a stone monument at Lhassa of the year 822, of which Bushell gives a facsimile, and in which *Bod* is rendered in Chinese by the same character *Fan*. *Tʻu-fan* is therefore equivalent to *Tʻubod.*

In the history of the Sung dynasty, which ruled over the greater part of China, 960–1280, the name Tʻu-fan is still used, but in the history of the Liao in Northern China, 916–1125, it is recorded that in 1047 an envoy from the kingdom of *Tʻie-bu-te* arrived at the court of the Liao to solicit help against the *Hia* (Tangut empire). *Sub anno* 1060 we read that the Liao emperor gave a princess to be married to the son of the sovereign of *Tʻu-bo-tʻe.* The same event is reported in the Sung history, where that kingdom is called *Tʻu-fan.*

To the Mongols Tibet was known in the Middle Ages under the name of *Tubot.* In the Mongol text of the Yüan chʻao pi shi (Pallad. transl., 148), in one case, the valour and fierceness of the Mongols are compared with those qualities in the dogs of *Tubot.*[795] The Chinese translator (fourteenth century) renders "dogs of Tubot" by "dogs of *Si fan.*" About this name see farther on.

In the Yüan shi Tibet is mentioned under different names. Sometimes the Chinese history of the Mongols uses the ancient name *Tʻu-fan.* In the Annals, *s. a.* 1251, we read: "Mangu Khan entrusted *Ho-li-dan* with the command of the troops against *Tʻu-fan.*" *Sub anno* 1254 it is stated that Kubilai (who at that time was still the heir-apparent), after subduing the tribes of Yün nan, entered *Tʻu-fan,* when *So-ho-to,* the ruler of the country, surrendered. Again, *s. a.* 1275: "The prince *A-lu-chi* (seventh son of Kubilai) led an expedition to *Tʻu-fan.*" In chap. ccii., biography of *Ba-sz'-ba,* the Lama priest who invented Kubilai's official alphabet, it is stated that this Lama was a native of *Sa-sz'-kia* in *Tʻu-fan.*

In the Ming period the name *Wu-sz'-tsang* was applied to Tibet. This name appears already in the Yüan shi, chap. cxxiii., biography of *Djao-a k'o-pan*, and once more in chap. lxxxvii., in connection with the Mongol troops cantoned there. Wu-sz'-tsang is a corruption of the joined names of the two provinces, *U* and *Tsang*, which form Central or Great Tibet (Markham, xxvi.).

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[795] Comp. "M. Polo," i. 41, on the mastiff dogs of Tebet.

The north-eastern part of Tibet was sometimes designated by the Chinese name *Si fan*, and Hyacinth (*l. c.* ix.) is of opinion that in ancient times this name was even applied to the whole of Tibet. *Si fan* means "Western barbarians." The biographer of Hüan ts'ang reports that when this traveller, in 629, visited *Liang chou* (in the province of Kan su), this city was the entrepôt for merchants from *Si fan* and the countries east of the Ts'ung ling mountains.

In the history of the Hia or Tangut empire (in the Sung shi) we read, *s. a.* 1003, that the founder of this empire invaded *Si fan* and then proceeded to *Si liang* (Liang chou).

The Yüan shi reports, *s. a.* 1268: "The (Mongol) Emperor ordered *Meng-gu-dai* to invade *Si fan* with 6000 men." The name Si fan appears also in chap. ccii., biography of *Dan-ba.*

Regarding the application of the name Si fan in the Ming period and in our days, I beg to refer to the next part.

Rashid-eddin, in his account of China and other countries of Eastern Asia, notices *Tubbet*, on the north-west of China (d'Ohsson, ii. 640); and in his History of the Mongols he mentions (*l. c.* i. 82) a country, *Buri-tibet*, to which Singun, the son of Ong Khan, is stated to have fled after his father had been defeated by Chinghiz in 1202. The existence of a country of this name is corroborated, not only by Plano Carpini (658), who records the conquest of *Burithabet* by the Mongols, but the name occurs also in the Ts'in cheng lu, where we read (Pallad. transl. 176) that Ong Khan's son fled to the people of

Bo-li t'u-fan. As we have seen, *t'u-fan* is equivalent to Tibet.

Rubruck, after speaking of the *Tanguts*, devotes also a few words to the Tibetans:—P. 289—"Post istos sunt *Tebet*, homines solentes comedere suos defunctos, ut causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulcrum eis nisi viscera sua." . . . Ibidem, p. 329: "Thebet scribunt sicut nos, et habent figuras valde similes nostris."

"M. Polo," ii. 33–44, has two long chapters on the province of *Tebet;* and in i. 292 he speaks of the sorcerers of Tebet and Kesimur at the court of the Great Caan.

Colonel Yule observes (*l. c.* ii. 38) that Tibet was always reckoned as a part of the Mongol-Chinese empire; but it is not very clear how it came under subjection to the Mongols, no conquest of their armies being related by either the Mohammedan or the Chinese historians; indeed, it seems that, with the exception of the above-quoted passages from the Chinese Annals, nothing more is said of the warlike enterprises of the Mongols against Tibet.

I may finally notice that now-a-days *Tangut* is the common name by which the Mongols designate the whole of Tibet, although, according to Przewalsky's investigations, the *Tangutans*, the occupants of the country on the north-east of Tibet, in the Kukonor basin, constitute a distinct Tibetan-speaking race. As we have seen, these Tangutans in the Middle Ages formed an independent kingdom at the north-western frontier of China.

T'IEN-DU[796]=INDIA.

T'ien-du is the name by which India was known to the Chinese since the first century of our era, when Buddhism was introduced from India into China. See history of the Posterior Han, chap. cxviii. But a more ancient Chinese name for India is *Shin-du.* This name, evidently rendering the Sanskrit *Sindhu*, meaning "river" (in this case the river *Sindh;* see note 704), which was taken for India, first appears in the Chinese annals about B.C. 120, after the expedition of the general Chang K'ien to Western Asia, who reported on the country of Shin-du from hearsay.

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[796] The second character, properly pronounced *chu*, is read *du* in the above Chinese name, designating India. See Williams' "Chinese Dictionary," p. 95.

The Chinese authors of the Mongol period generally call India *Hin-du-sz'* (see Yüan shi, Annals, *s. a.* 1253) or *In-du* (see Part I.). These names they evidently borrowed from the Persians, who call India *Hindustan.*

K'I-SHI-MI-RH=KASHMIR.

Regarding this country I have only a few words to say. Kashmir became known to the Chinese during the T'ang period in the seventh and eighth centuries. In the T'ang History, *s. a.* 713, an embassy from *K'o-shi-mi* to the Emperor of China is recorded. Under the name of *Kia-shi-mi-lo* this kingdom appears in the narrative of Hüan ts'ang about a century earlier. Kashmir is frequently mentioned by Eastern and Western travellers, and historians of the Mongol period. Ch'ang Te (1258) speaks of the Buddhist kingdom *K'i-shi-mi,* north-west of In-du (India). *K'ie-shi-mi-rh* in the Yüan shi (see note 368); *Keshimir* in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi. Compare also *Kasmir* in Plano Carpini, 708; *Keshimur,* "M. Polo," i. 175.

II.—COUNTRIES AND PLACES IN THE EMPIRE OF DULAI T'IE-MU-RH (MIDDLE EMPIRE).

WEI-WU-RH=UIGURS.

The country of the *Wei-wu-rh* or Uigurs is marked on the ancient map on the eastern border of the Middle Empire. The *Si pei ti* list has under the head of "Country of the Wei-wu-rh" a short note stating that in the year 1283 post-stations were established there in four places (cities), and also a treasury was founded for the exchange of paper money. A full account of the Uigurs has been given in Part II., to which I beg to refer.

BIE-SHI-BA-LI=BISHBALIK.

We know from the statements of the Persian authors, as well as from Chinese mediæval accounts, that there was a city called *Bishbalik*, the capital of the Uigurs. Sometimes the name was applied to the whole country of the Uigurs north and south of the eastern spur of the T'ien Shan, which comprised several cities besides Bishbalik, Karakhodjo (Huo chou), Lukchak, and others, and surrendered to Chinghiz. Bishbalik in Turkish means "Pentapolis," or five cities.

In the list of places and countries in the Si pei ti we find the following note under the head of Bie-shi-ba-li:—

In the year 1278 *Ba-sa-ch'a-li* received a tiger tablet, investing him with authority to direct the military post-stations in *Bie-shi-ba-li*, the (other) cities of the country of the Wei-wu-rh (Uigurs) and in *Tsz'-li* (a place unknown to me). In 1280 the *wan-hu* (commander of ten thousand) *K'i-kung-chi* (see his biography, Yüan shi, chap. clxv.) was sent (by the Emperor Kubilai) to guard the frontier at Bie-shi-ba-li. In 1281 the prince *A-dji-ghi*[797] requested that thirty new post-stations might be established between the mountain *T'ai ho ling*[798] and Bie-shi-ba-li. In 1283 the Emperor appointed a governor for Bie-shi-ba-li, Huo chou, and the other places (of Uiguria). In 1284 the Prince A-dji-ghi sent an envoy to the Emperor with a memorial stating that among the twenty-four cities formerly under the command of *Dji-bi-t'ie-mu-rh*,[799] there were two, namely, *Chʻa* and *Dai*, then governed by *da-lu-hua-chi* (Mongol governors, see note 695), and annexed, not to (the province of) Bie-shi-ba-li, but to *Kʻuo duan* (Khotan). He solicited that they might be restored to Bie-shi-ba-li, to which the Emperor acceded. In 1287 a military colony was established at Bie-shi-ba-li, formed of a thousand of the troops which had recently surrendered, to which also the commandership-in-chief for the whole country (of the Uigurs) was transferred.

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[797] *A-dji-ghi* was, according to the Yüan shi, chaps. cvii., cviii., geneal. tabl., a grandson of Chagatai, a son of *Ha-la-hü-lie* (*Kara Hulagu* of Rashid). Adjighi is not mentioned by Rashid.

[798] In the biography of Subutai the name *T'ai huo ling* (Mountain of Great Peace) is applied to the Caucasus (see i. 297). I am not aware what mountain here may be intended.

[799] According to the Yüan shi, chap. cvii., geneal. tabl., this was a grandson of Ogotai, a son of *K'uo-duan* (*Cotan* of Rashid).

Bie-shi-ba-li is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi. This place it seems played an important *rôle* in the war between Kubilai Khan and the revolted Prince Kaidu. See Annals, *s. a.* 1278, 1284. Sometimes we read in the Yüan shi, "Bie-shi-ba-li and the other places" (*i.e.*, the other cities in the Uigur country, *Karakhodjo, Lu-gu-chʻen, Tʻa-gu-sin*, &c.). The term *Wu-chʻeng* (five cities), which is a literal translation of Bishbalik, occurs also occasionally in the Yüan shi to designate this place or country. Compare the note on A-li-ma-li in the Si pei ti, where it is stated that 6000 *li* north-west of *Shang tu* (Kubilai's summer residence in South-Eastern Mongolia) is *Wei-wu-rh wu chʻeng* (the five cities of the Uigurs), which at the time of the Tʻang was called *Pei tʻing* (northern court), and was the seat of a governor-general (compare about Pei tʻing, note 157). The term *Wu chʻeng* or Pentapolis is found also in the biography of *Tʻie-kʻo-shu*, Yüan shi, chap. cxxxv.

According to Klaproth's investigations ("Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," ii. 355 *seq.*), *Bishbalik* of the mediæval author and *Pei tʻing* of the Tʻang period are identical with the present *Urumtsi*, a city situated on the northern slope of the Eastern Tʻien shan.[800]

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[800] It may be the proper place to say a few words on the little-known city of *Urumtsi*. This is a Dsungar name, which appears first in the Chinese annals in 1717. Compare the *San chou tsi lio*, a topographical and historical account of the three districts of *Hami, Turfan*, and *Urumtsi*. The Chinese write the name *Wu-lu-mu-tsʻi*. After the Emperor K'ien lung had conquered Dsungaria, in the middle of the last century, Urumtsi

Wang Yen te, despatched in A.D. 981 by the Sung emperor T'ai tsung to *Kao ch'ang* or *Karakhodjo* (see the article on the Uigurs), gives in his narrative an itinerary which permits us to determine approximately the position of ancient Pei t'ing. The Chinese envoy, after crossing the desert, passed through *I chou* (Hami) and arrived at *Kao chang* (Karakhodjo). The king of Kao chang, owing to the great heat, had retired to *Pei t'ing*, and Wang Yen te was invited to meet him in his summer residence. The envoy traversed the district of *Kiao ho*, and in six days arrived at the entrance of the defile in the *Kin ling* (Gold mountain). Two days later he reached *Han kia chai*. From this station he went on for five days more, and then began to ascend the *Kin ling* mountain. When crossing it he had to endure heavy rain and snowstorm. On the summit of the pass was the dragon-hall, in which a stone was found with the inscription, "Little snow-mountain." The mountain all over was covered with masses of snow. The travellers were obliged to put on winter clothes. On the next day the envoy reached Pei t'ing, which was situated in a long valley, &c.[801]

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became better known to the Chinese. We learn from the *Si yü wen kien lu* (1773) that in 1765 the Chinese built a new city at a distance of eight *li* from Urumtsi, near *Hung shan tsui* (Promontory of the Red Mountain). The city was built on eight hills. Three thousand Manchus were settled there. The place was commanded by a Chinese general. In 1775 it became a district city and then was named *Ti hua chou.* Urumtsi is situated in a fertile, well-watered valley. On the south-east of it rises the *Bogda-ola* mountain (see note 161), with its three snow-covered summits, known also by the name *Ling shan* (Divine Mountain). In the mountains west of Urumtsi coal is found, &c.

Urumtsi has been astronomically determined in 1756 by the Jesuit Father d'Arocha (Peterm. Geogr. Mitth., 1880, p. 467). According to him, its geographical position is 43° 27′ N. lat., 27° 57′ W. long. Peking. This place has frequently been visited in latter times by Russian merchants, but I have not been able to find anywhere a European account of it, besides a few words by Dr. A. Regel, devoted to Urumsti (Peterm. Geogr. Mitth., 1880, 209). Regel speaks of its picturesque situation in a broad valley between two mountains.

[801] In November 1879 Dr. A. Regel proceeded from *Karakhodjo* to *Urumtsi* (see note 800). The distance between these places is, according

In the days of Chinghiz and his successors the great highway from Mongolia to Western Asia passed through Bishbalik. Thus this place is mentioned by Ch'ang ch'un in 1221 as a city on the northern slope of the T'ien shan. He was told that ancient Pei t'ing occupied the same site. Two years earlier Ye-lü Ch'uts'ai, who accompanied Chinghiz on his expedition to Western Asia, had passed through Bishbalik. He states that *Huo chou* (Karakhodjo) lies 500 *li* south of this place. King Haithon's route likewise led through *Beshbaligh.* Pl. Carpini, Rubruck, M. Polo do not mention Bishbalik, although the first two of these mediæval travellers probably saw the capital of the Uigurs. The name of Bishbalik appears in Ibn Batuta's narrative (Yule's "Cathay," 506). He states that when he arrived at Khanbalik (1346) the khan was absent, for he had gone forth to fight Firuz, the son of his uncle, who had raised a revolt against him in the territory of *Karakoram* and *Bishbaligh* in Cathay.

The name of Bie-shi-ba-li is repeatedly mentioned in the biographies of the Yüan shi. Sometimes it appears under its ancient name *Pei t'ing.* In chap. cxxiv. we read, in the biography of *Meng-su-sz'*, that he was a *Wei-wu-rh,* and that his ancestors lived in *Bie-shi-ba-li ;* chap. cxxxvii. *T'o-lie-hai-ya,* a *Wei-wu-rh* from *Bie-shi-ba-li.*

HO-LA-HUO-DJO=KARAKHODJO.

Karakhodjo is frequently mentioned by Rashid as a place in the country of the Uigurs. Bardjuk, the Uigur prince, when he determined to submit to Chinghiz, gave orders to kill the Karakhitai governors in *Karakhodjo*

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to his map, about 133 English miles. Regel had to pass, south of the *Bogdo ola*, the defile of *Dabanshan*, at an elevation of more than 4000 feet. Wang Yen te's journey from *Kao chang* (Karakhodjo) to *Pei t'ing* took fifteen days. His *King ling* pass may well be the Dabanshan. It is, however, not quite clear whether Pei t'ing, the summer residence of the king, which the Chinese identify with Urumtsi, was really situated in that valley. Perhaps its site is to be sought in one of the more elevated valleys of the Bogdo ola. See note 161.

(d'Ohsson, i. 109). At the end of his account of Kathay Rashid states (d'Ohsson, ii. 640) that one of the bodies of troops protecting the frontier of the Great Khan is posted in the vicinity of *Karakhodjo*, a city of the Uigurs, which lies between the dominions of the Great Khan and those of Kaidu and Dua (the rebellious princes), and maintains neutrality.

The Chinese name of Karakhodjo in the Mongol period was *Huo chou* (Fire city). Sometimes the first sound is also represented by another homophonous character; sometimes the name is also written *Ho chou*. In the Si yu ki, and also in the Si yu lu, Ho chou is stated to lie 500 *li* south of Bishbalik (beyond the T'ien shan), and is identified in the latter narrative with *Kao chang* of the T'ang period (see vol. i. 16, 65). In the Yüan shi the same place is noticed several times under its different names. In the Annals, *s. a.* 1286, it is recorded that Kubilai ordered cattle and corn to be given to the people of *Ho-la-huo-djo* and *Ho-mi-li* (Hami), who suffered from dearth. Karakhodjo is further mentioned chap. cxxviii., in the biography of *A-shu*, who was a grandson of the famous Subutai. A-shu had been sent in 1286 against a rebellious prince, and died in *Ha-la-ho-djou*.

The city of Karakhodjo still exists, 40 versts south-east of Turfan, according to Regel, who visited this place in 1879. He writes the name *Karagudsha*.

LU-GU-CH'EN=LUKCHAK.

This name appears on the ancient map east of *Ho-la-huo-djo*. The history of the Ming gives a short note on this place, calling it *Liu ch'eng* (Willow city) or *Lu ch'en* (see Part IV.). At the time of the Han it was called *Liu chung*. It is stated in the "History of the Posterior Han," chap. cxviii., introduction to the section on Western countries, that since the year A.D. 123 the Chinese military governor of the *Si yü* had his residence in *Liu* *chung.* In the T'ang period Liu chung belonged to Kao ch'ang.

It seems that in the repeatedly quoted narrative of Wang Yen te (A.D. 932) this place is also noticed; for the envoy is stated to have passed through the country of *Liu chung* before reaching Kao ch'ang.

Further details regarding this place, which is called *Lu-k'o-ts'in* on recent Chinese maps (about 60 *li* south-east of Turfan), see in Klaproth's article, "Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," ii. 342.

T'A-GU-SIN=TOKSUN (?).

This place is marked on the ancient map between Kamul and Bishbalik. I may observe that a place *T'o-k'o-sun* appears on modern Chinese maps south-west of Turfan. It was visited by Regel in 1879.

DJANG-BA-LI=DJAMBALIK.

This place on our ancient map stands west of Bishbalik. A city *Ch'ang-ba-la* appears in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary (1221) west of Bishbalik. It was then ruled by an Uigur prince. The same city is mentioned in the itinerary of Ye-lü Hi liang. It is stated there that it was east of the river *Mana-sz'*. The latter name is still applied to a river and a city on the great highway from Urumtsi to Kuldja. Haithon, on his way from Karakorum to Western Asia (1254) passed through *Djambalekh*, west of *Beshbalegh.*

GU-T'A-BA=KHUTUKBAI.

West of Djambalik, on the ancient map. I have little doubt that this name has survived in the *Khutukbai* of modern maps, a town on the road from Urumtsi to Kuldja, between the former place and Manas. Regel calls it *Kotuby.* I may observe that in the itinerary of King Haithon (1254) a place *Khutaiyai* appears between Djambalekh and Yan kibalekh, of which I shall speak presently

YANG-GHI-BA-LI=YANGBALIK.

West of the former, on the ancient map; the *Yanki-balekh* of Haithon. A station *Yang balgasun* is marked on modern maps between Khutukbai and Manas, likewise on the great road to Kuldja. *Balgasun* in Mongol has the same meaning as balik in Turkish, *i.e.*, "city."

A-LI-MA-LI=ALMALIK.

A-li-ma-li, the *Almalik* of the Mohammedan authors, is frequently mentioned by the annalist of the Mongol era, as also by the travellers of the same period, passing from Western Asia to Mongolia, and *vice versa.* With respect to this place, therefore, I beg to refer to the first part of my "Researches," where some particulars about A-li-ma-li, as given by Chinese travellers, will be found. As can be concluded from those accounts, ancient Almalik lay on the great highway from Mongolia to Persia, and was situated near the site of the modern *Kuldja.*[802]

It seems the Persian historians first mention Almalik *s. a.* 1211, in which year *Ozar,* prince of Almalik, is stated to have acknowledged the supremacy of Chinghiz. This prince was subsequently slain by Guchluk, gurkhan of Karakhitai. By order of Chinghiz, his son *Siknak Tekin* succeeded him on the throne, and Chinghiz gave him in marriage a daughter of his son Djuchi. When the conqueror directed his host to Western Asia, he was joined by Siknak (d'Ohsson, i. 111, 212). We know nothing more about Almalik in the days of Chinghiz. Afterwards this place seems to have been the capital of the Middle Mongol Empire. The Tarikh Djihankushai states (d'Ohsson, ii. 100) that Chagatai, to whom this empire was assigned by his father, had his headquarters in the country of the Uigurs (Bishbalik). In the same work we read that he was in the habit of spending the summer in the country of *Almalik*, near the high mountains *Gueuk*[803] and the mount *Kut*, whilst he preferred to pass the winter in *Meruzik Ila*. Sometimes the residence of the khan of the Middle Empire is also called *Oluk iff* (d'Ohsson, ii. 100, 107, iii. 119, 122). When Hulagu passed through Almalik in 1253, he was well entertained there by the princess Organa, the widow of Kara Hulagu, the son of Chagatai (*l. c.* iii. 138).

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[802] See note 172. Lerch ("Archæol. Journey in Turkestan") is wrong in stating that the modern city of *Verny* (Vernoye), north of lake Issikul, represents ancient Almalik. He was misled by the fact that the Russian fort Vernoye was built in 1854 at a place and on a river which the Kirghizes call *Almaty.*

In the second half of the thirteenth century, Almalik sustained an important *rôle* in the struggle between the khans of the different branches of Chinghiz' lineage. When Kubilai ascended the throne in 1260, his brother *Arikbuga* (see note 281) laid claim to the crown, and collected troops in the north. After he had been defeated by Kubilai, he went with the rest of his army westward and attacked *Algu*, grandson of Chagatai, who at that time ruled over the Middle Empire. Algu had been allied with Arikbuga, but after the defeat of the latter had espoused the cause of Kubilai. Arikbuga's avant-guard, commanded by *Karabuka*, met the troops of Algu near the city of *Pulad* and the lake *Sut* (Sairam lake ; see note 476), and was defeated. Algu then returned to his residence on the river *Hile* (Ili), and disbanded his troops, when suddenly *Assutai*, one of Arikbuga's generals, at the head of another division, advanced through the defile called "Irongate,"[804] crossed the river *Hile* and captured *Almalik.*[805] Algu retired towards Khotan and Kashgar, and when Arikbuga himself had arrived and had established his headquarters on the river Hile, to pass the winter there, Algu retreated to Samarkand. In 1264 Arikbuga made peace with his brother Kubilai. In 1266, after the death of Algu, Kubilai gave the uluss of Chagatai to *Mubarek Shah,* son of Kara Hulagu.

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[803] This mountain is mentioned in the Zafernameh. In book ii. 13, *s. a.* 1375, Timur's expedition against the Jetes in Mogholistan, it is stated that Kamareddin, the commander of the Jetes, was encamped at *Gheuk topa* (Blue Hills), situated, it seems, not far from the river *Ab Ile* (Ili river), in which one of Timur's generals was drowned. In book iii. 9, *s. a.* 1390, we read that Timur's generals sent against the Jetes marched to *Issigheul* (lake Issikul), arrived at *Gheuk topa*, and then took the road to the mountain *Ardjatu* and *Almalegh*, near the river *Ab Ile*.

[804] The *Talki* defile, north of Kuldja. See notes 317, 805.

The Chinese annals record the war between Kubilai and Arikbuga, but not the struggle between Arikbuga and Algu. A-li-ma-li is for the first time mentioned in the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1277, in connection with the war against *Kaidu.* This war, which was continued for about twenty-five years, caused much trouble to Kubilai, who was obliged to maintain a considerable army at the northwestern frontier against his nephew. The expeditions against Kaidu are recorded in some detail in the Chinese annals as well as by the Persian historians. M. Polo also devotes a chapter (ii. 457 *seq.*) to the battles fought between the Great Kaan and Caidu.

According to the great traveller, in the year 1266, King *Caidu* and another prince called *Yesudar*[806] made an expedition to attack the Great Kaan's barons *Chibai* and *Chiban,*[807] sons of Chagatai, and defeated them. In 1268 Caidu attacked the Great Kaan's son *Nomogan,* and *George,* the grandson of Prester John, who were at *Caracoron.* The battle was without victory on either side; but Caidu, hearing that the Great Kaan was sending a great army to reinforce his son, retired to great Turkey and Samarkand.

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[805] The above details are taken from d'Ohsson, ii. 340–356, who translates from the Persian authors. Quatremère, in his "Histoire des Mongols," 146, translates the same, but from another MS. He gives a more intelligible version of the above passage. He writes the name of the river *Ili,* and translates: "Assutai, after passing through the *Timur kahlakah* (porte de fer), arrived near the river *Ili* and *Almalik,* and attacked unexpectedly the hordes of Algu."

[806] The name *Ye-su-da-rh* occurs repeatedly in the Yüan shi. In chaps. cxxix. and cxxxiii. we find the biographies of two persons of this name. I am not, however, prepared to identify M. Polo's Yesudar.

[807] Perhaps M. Polo means by Chibai the prince *Chi-bie-t'ie-mu-rh,* who, however, according to the Yüan shi, was a son of Ogotai. He is there mentioned as a general in Kubilai's army, and in connection with the war against *Hai-du* (Kaidu).

There are some discrepancies between the records of these events in the Chinese annals and those given by M. Polo, especially respecting the dates. The Yüan shi, in the article Si pei ti, gives the following note on A-li-ma-li and the expeditions against Kaidu :—

The prince *Hai-du* had his encampment in *A-li-ma-li* and the other places.[808] Proceeding from *Shang tu* (Kubilai's summer residence) in a north-western direction 6000 *li*, one reaches the *Five cities* of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Bishbalik of the Uigurs). Four to five thousand *li* farther westward lies *A-li-ma-li*. In the year 1268 Hai-du revolted, raised an army, and went southward (evidently a mistake for eastward). *Shi tsu* (Kubilai) repelled his aggression near *Pei tʻing* (Bishbalik). Hai-du was pursued as far as *A-li-ma-li*, when the emperor gave orders to discontinue the pursuit. At the same time he conferred the chief command of the troops in the country of A-li-ma-li on the prince *Pei pʻing wang*.[809] The latter was assisted by the minister *An-tung*.[810]

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[808] Kaidu's appanage was originally, it seems, at *Kayalik* (see note 813), a place mentioned by the Mohammedan authors, the *Cailac* of Rubruck. In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1252, it is recorded that Mangu khan, after his accession, ordered *Hai-du* to live in the country of *Hai-ya-li*.

[809] Pei pʻing wang was the title of *Na-mu-han*, the fourth son of Kubilai. In the short biographical note devoted to this prince in the Yüan shi lei pien, chap. xxx. fol. 16, we read that this title was granted to him in 1266. In 1282 it was changed into *Pei an wang*.

[810] An-tʻung of the Yüan shi is evidently the *Noyan Hantum* of Rashid (d'Ohsson, ii. 452). His biography is found there in chap. cxxvi. He is stated to have been a great-grandson of the celebrated Mongol general *Mu-hua-li* (see notes 44, 47), the conqueror of Northern China. In the year 1275 he went with Na-mu-han, who was sent by the emperor to defend *Ho-lin* (Karakorum) against Hai-du. They then passed some years at the northern frontier, were made prisoners by the revolted prince *Si-li-ki*, but finally returned to China in 1284.

Detailed accounts of the treason of *Si-li-ki* and the seizure of Na-mu-han may be read in de Mailla's "Histoire de la Chine," ix. 389. Rashid's record on the same subject is given in d'Ohsson, ii. 452 *seq.* *Si-li-ki* (*Shireki* of Rashid), a son of Mangu khan, was in the army of Na-mu-han

It seems that in the expeditions sent by Kubilai against Kaidu, the armies of the Great Khan advanced sometimes to great distances. Thus in the biography of *Yü-wa-shi*, Yüan shi, chap. cxxxii., this general is stated to have given battle to Hai-du in the country of *I-bi-rh Shi-bi-rh.*[811] Vassaf states that in 1301 the united hosts of Kaidu and Dua met the army of the Great Khan some days' journey distant from *Kayalik*, which was on the frontier of the two empires (of Dua and Kaidu). There Kaidu fought his last battle; he was victorious, but died soon after. According to the Yüan shi, however, this battle was fought between *Karakorum* and the river *Tamir* (d'Ohsson, ii. 516).

Mention is made of *Almalik* by most of the mediæval travellers who traversed Central Asia. As to the reports of Chinese travellers respecting this place, they have been noticed in Part I. It remains to review the statements of western mediæval travellers about Almalik.

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when he formed a conspiracy against Kubilai. *Na-mu-han* and *An-t'ung* were made prisoners by the conspirators, who directed their forces towards Karakorum; but the latter were defeated by Kubilai's valiant general *Pe-yen.* According to the Yüan shi, Na-mu-han was made prisoner by Si-li-ki in 1277, in the country of *A-li-ma-li.*

[811] It is not difficult to recognise in this name *Siberia.* Rashid in his notice of the Kirghizes (d'Ohsson, i. 103) states that their country stretches to the great river *Angara*, which runs to the boundary of *Aber Sibir.* In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi we read that in 1206 Djuchi, the son of Chinghiz, subdued all the tribes who lived in the forests (*Oriangutes sylvestres* of Rashid) south of *Shibir.* Compare Quatremère's learned note on *Ibir Sibir* in his "Hist. des Mongols," p. 413. The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) writes *Sibir* or *Abir.* Ibn Arab Shah (i. 45) states that Kipchak on the north borders upon *Abir* or *Sibir.* The *Sebur* on the northern border of the Catalan map is evidently intended for Sibir. J. Schildberger, who from 1394–1427 visited many countries of Asia, and accompanied the great Tamerlane in his expeditions, mentions a country *Ibissibur.*

The ancient history of Siberia before these tracts had been conquered by the Russians is very dark. Regarding the origin of the name, we know only that there existed in the sixteenth century, on the river Irtysh, sixteen versts above the present Tobolsk, a Tatar city, *Sibir*, taken by Yermak in 1581, the ruins of which are still traceable. Subsequently the Russians began to apply this name, as a general appellation, to the whole of Northern Asia.

In the narratives of Plano Carpini and Rubruck, a name similar to Almalik does not appear; but it seems that Rubruck applies the name *Organum* to the country of Almalik (see note 285).

Haithon, the king of Little Armenia, on his way home from Mongolia, passed through *Halualekh* (Almalik). Farther on he arrived at *Ilanbalekh*, and crossed the river *Ilan* (Ili).

Almalik in the fourteenth century was a Latin missionary bishopric, and, it seems, also a metropolitan see of the Nestorian Church. There is a letter of a Franciscan missionary extant, dated at *Armalec*, in the empire of the *Medes* (probably Imperium medium is meant), A.D. 1338 (Yule's "Cathay," ccxliv. 231).

Marignolli visited "*Armalec* of the Middle Empire" in 1341, a year after the Bishop and six Minorites had suffered martyrdom there (*l. c.* 338).

Ibn Batuta (about 1330–34) speaks of Almalik as situated at the extremity of Maver-al-nahar (Transoxiana), near the place where *Sin* (China) begins. In another passage we find Ibn Batuta observing that Almalik was the proper capital of the empire of the Tatar Sultan *Ala-eddin Tarmashirin* [812] (*l. c.* 503, 522).

Pegolotti, in his notices of the land route to Cathay (first half of the fourteenth century), reckons a distance of forty-five days' journey with pack-asses between *Oltrare* (Otrar) and *Armalec*, and a journey of seventy days from Armalec to *Camexu* (Kanchou in China), *l. c.* 288.

As has already been noticed in note 803, the name of *Almalegh* appears in the Zafernameh, book iii. 9, in the relation of Timur's expedition against the Jetes in Moghulistan in the year 1390.

Sultan Baber, who wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century, in his Memoirs (i. 1) speaks of *Almalik* as of a city destroyed before his time by the Mongols and Uzbeks.

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[812] *Tarma shirin* in d'Ohsson's table of the Chagatai branch (iv. 748). He reigned till 1330.

That is all I have been able to gather regarding ancient Almalik.

THE COUNTRY OF THE *KO-RH-LU* = KARLUKS.

This appears on the ancient map north of Almalik. Evidently the *Karluks* are meant, who formed one of the sections into which, according to the Mohammedan historians, the nation of the Turks was divided.

From the statements of Istakhri, who lived in the tenth century, about the *Kharlekhie*, we may conclude that they lived east of the *Guzes*, who occupied the tract between the Caspian Sea and the Sihun, and west of the *Tagazgaz*, who, as we have seen, are identical with the *Uigurs*.

It seems that the Chinese annals mention the Karluks two or three centuries earlier. In the history of the T'ang there is a long article on the *T'ie-le*, a people inhabiting Western Mongolia and Central Asia. (See note 596.) They were divided into many tribes, which are all enumerated. One of these tribes there is termed *Ko-lo-lu*, and said to be descended from the *T'u-küe* (Turks). They lived in the mountainous country north-west of Pei-t'ing (Urumtsi), on both sides of the river *P'u-gu-ch'en*. There are in their country many cross mountain ridges. In the second half of the eighth century they quarrelled with the Uigurs, their eastern neighbours, and extended their dominions far to the west. They took even possession of the city of *Sui ye* (on the Chu river; see note 583). For further particulars see Hyacinth's translation of the whole article on the Ko-lo-lu in his "Ancient Nations of Central Asia," i. 437.

We have seen that, according to Chinese history, the Uigurs, after their dispersion by the Kirghizes in the middle of the ninth century, partly fled to the *Ko-lo-lu* (in the west).

Rashid, who traces the origin of the Karluks back to Oghuz Khan, the progenitor also of the Uigurs, Kankalis, Kipchaks, and other Turkish tribes (Berezin, i. 19), says nothing about their abodes in the thirteenth century; but, as we may conclude from a statement of the Tarikh Djihankushai, they dwelt not far from *Kayalik.*[813] It is there recorded (d'Ohsson, I. iii.) that in 1211 *Arslan khan,* chief of the *Turk Karluks* and at the same time prince of *Kayalik,* together with *Ozar,* prince of *Almalik,* both till then vassals of the gurkhan of Karakhitai, came to submit to Chinghiz, who gave to Arslan a Mongol princess in marriage.[814]

In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1211, it is stated that *A-si-lan Han,* from the *Si yü* (western countries), the chief of the tribe *Ha-la-lu,* surrendered to Chinghiz.

In the Yüan chʻao pi shi we read (Pallad. transl. 130): Chinghiz sent *Kubilai* to subdue the people of the *Kharluut* (Mongol plural form of *Kharlu*); but their chief, *Arselan,* surrendered voluntarily, and presented himself to Chinghiz, who gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

The same is recorded in about the same terms by Rashid (Berezin, i. 132): "In the days of Chinghiz, the chief of the *Karluks* was *Arslan khan.* Chinghiz sent *Kubilai noyen,* of the tribe *Berulas,*[815] to subdue the Karluks, but Arslan surrendered voluntarily; when Chinghiz gave him a princess of his house in marriage, and granted him the title *Sart*,[816] i.e. *Tadjik*, observing that it was impossible to leave him the title Arslan khan."

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[813] *Kayalik* is mentioned by Vassaf in connection with the battle fought in 1301 between the army of Kubilai and the united forces of Kaidu and Dua (d'Ohsson, ii. 516). It is the *Cailac* of Rubruck (281). Colonel Yule ("Cathay," ccxiii.) thinks that this city was situated near the modern city of *Kopal.* It is an interesting fact, noticed in the "Trans. Russ. Geogr. Soc.," 1867, i. 290, that in a tumulus (kurgan) in Kopal an ancient gold ring with precious stones was found by a Tatar in 1857. It bore the inscription "Arslan," in Turkish letters. Regarding the Chinese name for Kayalik, comp. note 808.

[814] The marriage of *A-rh-sz'-lan* with a Mongol princess is also recorded in the Yüan shi, chap. cix., table of the princesses.

[815] In the Yüan shi, chap. cvii. (see also Yüan shi lei pien, chap. xxx. fol. 1), the Berulas are termed *Ba-lu-la-sz'.* They were divided into the Great and the Little Ba-lu-la-sz'.

I have no doubt that the *Corola*, mentioned by Pl. Carpini, 709, among the nations subdued by the Mongols, are the Karluks.

In the Yüan shi the Karluks are generally termed *Ha-la-lu*. In chap. cxxxiii., biography of *Ye-han di-ghin*, the name is written *Hia-la-lu*. Ye-han di-ghin, who was a general under Kubilai khan, belonged to this tribe. It is stated in his biography that his grandfather was in the country of *Wa-sz'-gien* (Uzghend) with three thousand men, troops of the Hia-la-lu, when Chinghiz invaded Western Asia. He came to the emperor to surrender, and presented a great number of cattle and sheep. His son, the father of Ye-han, was called *Ye-mi huo-dji*. Ye-han's sons were *Ho-na-ch'i di-ghin* and *Ye-su-sha*. All these were in the service of the Mongol emperors.

Sha-ts'üan (biogr. in chap. cxxxii.) was also a *Ha-la-lu* or Karluk. His father, *Sha-di*, had been a general under Chinghiz, and had distinguished himself in the war with the Kin in Northern China.

In chap. cxc. *Ha-la-lu* appears again as the native country of *Bo-yen*.

P'U-LA = PULAD.

This is the city of *Pulad* of the Persian historians, mentioned in connection with the war between Arikbuga and Algu (see p. 34), as situated not far from the lake *Sut*. Haithon, when proceeding homeward from Mongolia, passed through *Pulad*, and then arrived at the lake *Sutkul* (Sairam lake).

Rubruck, when speaking of the Germans (Teutonici) in the service of the prince Buri, says (280): "De illis

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[816] D'Ohsson, who translates the same passage (i. 218), writes *Arslan Siriaki* (le Syriaque), instead of Arslan Sart. There was probably a clerical error in his Persian text. We have seen that the Mongols called the Mohammedan people *Sart* or *Sartol*.

Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere usque ad curiam Manguchan. . . . Quando veni in curia Manguchan intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos, de licencia Baatu, versus orientem (they had been before in *Talas*) spacio itineris unius mensis a Talas, ad quamdam villam que dicitur *Bolat*, ubi fodiunt aurum et fabricant arma, unde non potui ire nec redire per eos."

Rashid-eddin, enumerating the countries and places inhabited by Turk tribes, also mentions *Pula* (Berezin, i. 2).

The Chinese mediæval travellers through Central Asia mention the same place in the same regions. *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* passed, in the suite of Chinghiz, through the city of *Bu-la*, north of the *Yin shan* mountains, on the top of which was a lake (the Sairam lake). In the itinerary of *Ye-lü Hi-liang* the name of the same city, *Bu-la*, appears again. The city of *Bo-lo*, to which *Ch'ang Te* came before crossing the defile *T'ie-mu-rh ts'an-ch'a* (in the Talki mountains, north of Kuldja), seems also to be identical with *Pulad* (see i. 17, 125, 162). This place was situated evidently on the great highway from Mongolia to Persia, not very far from lake Sairam, perhaps in the fertile valley of the river *Boro tala*, which discharges itself into the Ebinor. The ancient Chinese map places P'u-la between Almalik and Emil, near or in the country of the Karluks.

YE-MI-SHI = EMIL (IMIL).

Ye-mi-shi is placed on the ancient map north-east of Pulad, and I feel no hesitation in identifying it with *Emil* or *Imil*, the name of a river and a city repeatedly mentioned by the Chinese as well as by the Mohammedan authors of the Mongol period. There can be no doubt that the character *shi* in the Chinese name on the map is a misprint or a clerical error; for the Yüan shi writes the name *Ye-mi-li*. There is still a river *Emil*, south of Chuguchak, emptying itself into lake Alak kul. The valley of this river is famed for its pastures, and, as I have been informed by Russian travellers, traces of ancient settlements can be seen there.

We know from the Tarikh Djihankushai that the Karakhitai, on their peregrinations to the west in about 1122, founded a city in the country of Imil (see i. 226).

Pl. Carpini writes (648): "In terra autem prædictorum Kara-kitaorum Occoday-can filius Chinghis-can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam civitatem ædificavit, quam *Omyl* appellavit."

Ibidem (751): "Deinde terram nigrorum Kitaorum fuimus ingressi; in qua tantum de novo unam civitatem ædificaverunt, quæ *Omyl* appellatur; ubi Imperator domum ædificavit, in qua vocati fuimus ad bibendum."

According to the Tarikh Djihankushai, Ogotai, the third son of Chinghiz, had his appanage on the river *Imil.*[817] The same work states that Ogotai's son Kuyuk (Great Khan, 1246–48), in the spring of 1248, set out for the banks of the *Imil*, his own special uluss, where he hoped the climate would better agree with the broken state of his health. But he died when seven days' journey from Bishbalik (d'Ohsson, ii. 2, 234).

A place or country, *Ye-mi-li*, is several times mentioned in the Yüan shi. In chap. cxxi., biography of Su-bu-tai (see note 689), we read that, after accomplishing the conquest of the countries north of the Caucasus, Su-bu-tai went home by the way of *Ye-mi-li* and *Ho-dji.*[818]

Ibidem, annals, *s. a.* 1252, it is stated that Mangu khan, after his accession in 1252, ordered *T'o-t'o*[819] to live in the country of *Ye-mi-li.*

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[817] In the annals of the Yüan shi we read that after the death of Chinghiz, his son Ogotai arrived from the country of *Ho-bo*. It seems that Ho-bo was somewhere near Imil. At least in the itinerary of *Ye-lü Hi liang*, a country *Huo-bu* is mentioned after *Ye-mi-li* (Imil).

[818] Imil is coupled here with *Ho-dji*. I may observe that in the history of Tamarlane, the (summer) residence of Mogolistan (eastern branch of the Chagatai empire), taken in 1389 by Timur, is called *Aymul Guja*. Zafer-nameh, iii. 5.

The name of the same country appears in *Ye-lü Hi liang's* itinerary (see i. 160, 161).

I-LI-BA-LI=ILIBALIK.

This name in the ancient map seems to represent *Ilibalik,* "the city of Ili." It appears there south-west of Almalik. King Haithon, proceeding from Almalik westward, arrived at *Ilan-balek,* and then crossed the *Ilan* (Ili) river.

This seems to be the only instance that any mediæval author mentions a city of this name. The city was evidently situated on the *Ili* river, perhaps near the place where now the post-road from Kuldja to Tashkend crosses the river. There is on the left bank the borough *Iliskoye.*

YE-YÜN-CH'I.

It is impossible to identify this name, which, on the ancient map, is placed west of Ilibalik. I may, however, observe that a similar-sounding name appears as that of a river in the *Si shi ki.* In this narrative a river, *Yi-yün,* is mentioned in the country of the Karakhitai, somewhere in the region of the river Chu (see i. 129).

K'U-CH'A=KUCHA.

Here the city of *Kucha* in Eastern Turkestan is meant. On modern Chinese maps the name is written *K'u-ch'e.* The Chinese geographers identify it with ancient *Kui-tsz',* a kingdom in Central Asia, first mentioned, before our era, in the history of the Anterior Han.

Rashid records (d'Ohsson, i. 105) that Guchluk, the son of the khan of the Naimans, having been defeated by the

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[819] *T'o-t'o,* according to the Yüan shi, chap. cvii. geneal. table, was a grandson of Ogotai, and son of *Ha-la-ch'a-rh.* The latter is mentioned by Rashid (*l. c.* ii. 99) under the name of *Karadjar.* See note 742.

Mongols, fled through Bishbalik to *Kudja*, to the khan of the Karakhitai. Under the article Sunit, Rashid mentions a corps of the Mongol army composed of Uigurs, Karluks, Turkmans, and men from Kashgar and *Kuchai* (Berezin, i. 46).

WO-CH'I=UCH.

This name is assigned on the ancient Chinese map to a place between Kucha and Kashgar. It may be identified with the modern city of *Uch* or *Uch Turfan* in Eastern Turkestan, west of Aksu, situated on the great highway from Kamul to Kashgar, south of the T'ien shan. On modern Chinese maps the name is written *Wu-shi.* The Emperor K'ien lung, who, after the conquest of Eastern Turkestan and Ili, in the middle of the last century, bestowed Chinese names upon the principal cities there, named Uch *Yung ning ch'eng.* The Chinese geographers identify Uch with the ancient kingdom *Yü t'ou* mentioned in the histories of the Han. The Si yü wen kien lu states that the people of Turkestan usually call this place *Uch turfan*, turfan meaning residence.

The ancient Chinese map and the list in the Si pei ti are, it seems, the only instances in which Uch is mentioned in Chinese works of the Mongol period.

I may observe that a place, *Uch-ferman*, is mentioned in the history of Timur's military doings in connection with the war against the Jetes in 1375 (Zafernameh, ii. 14).

BA-LI-MANG.

I can make nothing of this name, which on the ancient map is placed north of Wo-ch'i or Uch.

K'O-SHI-HA-RH=KASHGAR.

Kashgar is often mentioned by the Mohammedan authors of the Middle Ages. This name appears even in Firdusi's Shahnameh referring to the ancient history of Persia.

Abulfeda, II. ii. 229, quotes with respect to Kashgar authors of the tenth and twelfth centuries.

In the Tarikh Tabari, written towards the end of the tenth century, and translated by Zotenberg, we read, iv. 198, that in the reign of the Calif Soleiman, 715–717, his general *Kutaïba* (proceeding from Ferganah) conquered *Kashgar*, a city near the Chinese frontier, and sent an envoy, Hobaïra, with horses and other presents to the king of China. Kutaiba had ordered the envoy to summon the king of China to submit, and to inform him that Kutaiba had taken an oath to tread upon Chinese soil. In return the king despatched four of his princes to the Arab commander-in-chief, and sent also a little earth from China, upon which Kutaiba might tread to keep his oath.[820]

We have seen (see i. 252, Uigurs) that, according to Ibn el Athir, who wrote in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was in Eastern Turkestan, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the dynasty of the *Ilkhans*, who ruled over Kashgar, Khotan, Yarkand, and even Western Turkestan. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, and probably already in the twelfth century, these tracts belonged to the gurkhan of Karakhitai (d'Ohsson, i. 170 *seq.*). In 1218 this empire was destroyed by the Mongols, who then took possession of Eastern Turkestan, which after Chinghiz' death devolved on Chagatai.

The Chinese geographers, and after them our sinologues, identify Kashgar with the country *Shu-le* mentioned in the histories of the Han since the second century B.C. In the days of the T'ang (seventh and eighth centuries) it was still known under the same name, and the T'ang shu states that the capital of Shu-le is called *Kia-shi* or *Ka-sha*, which name has some resemblance to Kashgar.

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[820] This seems to be the same Arab embassy to the Chinese court which is recorded in the history of the T'ang; *s. a.* 713, however. The envoys brought as presents beautiful horses and a magnificent girdle, and refused to perform the prostration before the emperor. See my pamphlet on Chinese Knowledge of the Arabs, &c., 1871, p. 8.

In the Yüan shi, Kashgar is generally written *K'o-shi-ha-li.* This name there is generally found coupled with Khotan (see the next) and Yarkand.

Yarkand is repeatedly noticed in the Yüan shi. The name is generally written *Ye-li-k'ien* there. It appears in the itinerary of Ye-lü Hi liang, but has been omitted from the ancient map. I do not find it mentioned in the Ming history. Now-a-days the Chinese call it *Ye-rh-kiang,* and identify it with the ancient kingdom of *So-kü* of the Han period.

M. Polo states with respect to the kingdom of *Cascar* (i. 189) that it was subject to the Great Kaan, and says the same regarding *Cotan* (i. 196), whilst *Yarken* (i. 195), according to M. Polo, belonged to Kaidu. This does not agree with Rashid's statements about the boundary between Kaidu's territory and the khan's.

Kashgar (*Kashimgar*) was at this time a metropolitan see of the Nestorian Church ("Cathay," ccxlv.).

HU-T'AN=KHOTAN.

The earliest accounts of *Khotan,* in Eastern Turkestan, we find in the Chinese annals. In 1820 A. Rémusat published a book, "Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, tirée des Annales de la Chine," in which he brought together all historical and geographical information about this ancient kingdom which he had been able to gather from Chinese sources. I may therefore confine my remarks to a brief notice of the Chinese records regarding Khotan.

In the "History of the Anterior Han," where this kingdom is first mentioned in Chinese works, in the second century of our era, it is styled *Yü-t'ien;* and Khotan is spoken of under the same name in all the succeeding Chinese dynastic histories down to our own day. The first sound of the name is generally rendered by a character meaning "jade," and was chosen probably in allusion to the fame which Khotan has had from the most ancient time for its fine jade, so highly prized in China. *Yü-tʻien* was visited by the Buddhist monk *Fa hien*, A.D. 400, on his way to India.

In the history of the Tʻang the following synonyms for Yü-tʻien are given: *Kü-sa-tan-na, Huan-na*, and *Kʻü-tan.* The first of these names is the Sanskrit name of Khotan. Under this name it appears also in the narrative of *Hüan tsʻang,* in the seventh century. By *Kʻü-tan* the Turkish name of the place seems to be rendered. Besides this, the Tʻang shu states that the northern nomads are wont to call it *Yü tun,* whilst the western people (Persians, Arabs) term it *Huo-tan.*

In the Yüan shi, Khotan is repeatedly mentioned, but seldom by its Chinese name, *Yü-tʻien.* The Chinese historians of the Mongol period generally try to render the name Khotan, which was in use with the Mongols.

In chap. cxx., biography of Ho-sze-mai-li, it is stated that when the khan of Karakhitai had been slain, the cities of *Kʻo-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), *Ya-rh-kʻien* (Yarkand), and *O-duan* (Khotan) surrendered to the Mongols. Ye-lü Chʻu tsʻai writes the same name *Wu-duan,* and adds that this is the same as the *Yü-tʻien* of the Tʻang period (see i. 16).

In the annals of the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1274, we read: Thirteen water-stations (on rivers, of course[821]) were established (by imperial order) between the two cities *Yü-tʻien* (Khotan) and *Ya-rh-kʻan* (Yarkand), and two land stations north of Sha chou. On the same page the annals state that the people of *Yü-tʻien* were relieved from the onus of collecting jade (for the Emperor).

Under the same year it is recorded that the emperor bestowed the sum of 100 *liang* of silver upon each family of the 249 soldiers from *Ho-shi-ha-rh, Ya-rh-kʻan* and

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[821] It seems that communication by water was established between Khotan and Yarkand. Both places are situated on rivers, affluents of the *Tarim;* or perhaps there existed a direct watercourse connecting these cities.

Wu-duan (Khotan), who had been killed at the siege of *Siang yang fu* and *Fan ch'eng*.[822]

Under the year 1271 Khotan is termed *Wa-duan*. *Sub anno* 1288 mention is made of a military colony composed of workmen from *Ka-shi-ha-rh* and *O-duan*.

Khotan is repeatedly mentioned in the early history of Persia, as related in Firdusi's Shahnameh. The Arabs, in their conquests eastward, never advanced as far as Khotan. As we have seen, Kashgar was the easternmost spot in Asia which the valiant Kutaiba reached, in about 715.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries Khotan was under the rule of the *Ilkhans* (see Part II.). In the beginning of the thirteenth century we find the Gurkhan of Karakhitai in the possession of Eastern Turkestan. In 1218, after the destruction of this empire, these tracts devolved to the Mongols, and after the death of Chinghiz formed part of the Middle Empire. We have already noticed M. Polo's statement that *Cotan* was subject to the Great Kaan in the days of Kubilai, which seems to be corroborated by the above-quoted passages from the Chinese annals.

The name of Khotan is frequently met with in the historical and geographical records of the Mohammedan authors of the Middle Ages. Khotan was famed in the West for its musk as well as for its jade. Compare also Klaproth's "Histoire de la Ville de Khotan," translated from the account of a Turkish geographer ("Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," ii. 281–301).

T'U-LU-KI=TURKESTAN.

This name is placed on our ancient map west of Uch and north of Kashgar. Although no indication is found either on the map or in the list of the Si pei ti that T'u-lu-ki is intended for the name of a country, I am nevertheless inclined to suppose that *Turkestan* is meant, the *Great Turkey* of M. Polo (i. 198, ii. 455, 456, 460).

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[822] *Siang yang fu* had been taken by the Mongols in March of 1273. *Fan ch'eng* is a town situated opposite Siang yang, on the left bank of the *Han* river. Comp. M. Polo, ii. 140.

Friar Benedict, who travelled with Pl. Carpini, states (777): "Post terram Kangitarum (Kankali) venerunt *Turkyam* ubi primum invenerunt magnam civitatem *Janckynt* (Yanghikend) facientes circa decem dietas per eandem Turkyam: habet Turkya legem Mahometi. Post Turkyam intraverunt terram quæ vocatur Kara-Kytai."

The Turkya of Benedict is called the country of the *Bisermans* (see note 173) in Pl. Carpini's narrative.

In the Si pei ti the name *T'u-lu-ki* is put at the head of the places and countries comprised in the Middle Empire, which, as is known, embraced the whole of Turkestan.

A-T'E-BA-SHI = AT-BASH.

This name appears on the ancient map north-west of Kashgar and north-east of *O-dsi-han* (Uzgend). A mountain *A-t'e-ba-sheng* is mentioned in the itinerary of Ye-lü Hi liang after Kashgar (see i. 163).

At-bash is still the name of a mountain and a river in the regions of the Upper Syr daria, south of lake Issykul. The At-bash is a southern affluent of the Naryn, one of the rivers which form the Syr daria. The valley of the At-bash is famed for its fertility (Kostenko's "Turkestan," i. 69, 70, 239). Baron Fr. v. d. Osten-Sacken, who visited the At-bash valley in 1867, has had the kindness to inform me that he saw there very interesting remains of an ancient fortress of strong appearance.

A village *Atbashi* is mentioned twice in the Zafernameh, ii. 14, 7, in connection with Timur's war against the Jetes of Moghulistan in 1375 and 1376.

O-DSI-HAN = UZGEND.

The place assigned on our map to *O-dsi-han* or *O-dsi-dsien*, as the name reads in the Si pei ti, between At-bash and Marghinan, points to its position in Ferghana. The name has some resemblance to Uzgend, which city still exists in the eastern part of Ferghana. Fedchenko was the first European who, in 1871, visited this place. He found it in ruins.

Uzkend seems to be first mentioned by Ibn Khurdadbin in the ninth century. He notices it as a city of Ferghana, which was the starting-point for the journey across the mountains to Tibet. As the late Professor Grigorieff proves in his "Turkestan," 219, the Arabs meant Eastern Turkestan by Tibet. Istakhri and Ibn Haukal term this city *Urkend;* Edrisi calls it *Aderkend.*

Ibn el Athir states that Malek Shah of the Seldjuks in 1089, proceeded to *Uzkend*, whither the king of Kashgar repaired to render homage (De Guignes, iii. 219).

From d'Ohsson's "Hist. des Mongols," it does not appear that mention is made by the Mohammedan authors of the Mongol period of this city Uzkend or Urkend in Ferghana. It is only on the map appended to the work, and containing nothing but mediæval names, that a place *Euzkend* is marked in Ferghana. Besides this, the name of a city *Ozkend* is placed there on the river Sihun, below Otrar and Signak. This is the city spoken of in the Tarikh Djihankushai as having been captured by the Mongols in 1219 (d'Ohsson, i. 222).

Ozkend is further mentioned by the Mohammedan authors as a place where the gurkhan of Karakhitai had a treasury, which was plundered by Guchluk (d'Ohsson, i. 167). Ibidem, i. 182, we read that in 1209 Mohammed Khovarezm Shah invaded the dominions of the gurkhan, and occupied Turkestan as far as *Ozkend.* This city of Ozkend in Turkestan still existed in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is mentioned in the Tarikh i Abulkhair, together with Signak and Suzak, among the places of Turkestan captured by the Uzbeg chief Abulkhair Khan (Howorth, "Mongols," ii. 687).

As to the city of *Uzkend* in Ferghana, I may finally notice that Sultan Baber in his Memoirs (i. 32, 226) states that Uzkend is the ancient capital of Ferghana.

The Yüan shi speaks of a city *Wa-sz'-gien* (somewhere in Turkestan; see the article on the Karluks), which name sounds like Uzgend. Probably Ozkend on the Lower Sihun is meant.

KO-SAN = KASAN.

The position assigned to Ko-san in the ancient map permits its identification with the city of *Kasan* in Ferghana, situated, according to the detailed Russian map, on a small river of the same name, thirty versts north-west of Namangan. It seems to be an unimportant place now-a-days, but was one time the capital of Ferghana.

The early Arab historians record (Tabari; see Weil, "Gesch. d. Chalifen," i. 503) that in A.D. 712 or 713 Kutaiba, the commander-in-chief of the Calif's troops, took the cities of *Shash* (Tashkend), *Khodjend*, and *Kasan.* Yakubi, A.D. 892 (quoted by Grigorieff, "Turkestan," 196), mentions *Kasan*, in the valley of Ferghana, as situated at the eastern boundary of the territories conquered by the Arabs. Kasan is spoken of by Ibn Haukal, Edrisi, Abulfeda (II. ii. 226). The latter quotes an author of the ninth century, according to whom Kasan was the capital of Ferghana and an important place. Yakut (beginning of the thirteenth century) says the same, but in his days Kasan had already lost its former splendour. We have seen that Ye-lü Ch'u tsai mentions a city *K'o-san*, together with *K'u-djan* (Khodjend), *Ba-p'u* (Pap), and *Ba-lam* (Kanibadam), all cities of Ferghana (see i. 19).

According to Sultan Baber (Memoirs, i. 9), who wrote at the end of the fifteenth century, *Kasan* then was a small place north of *Akhsy* or *Akhsiket*, the capital of Ferghana,[823] and situated on the same river which flows to Akhsy (*i.e.*, which flows into the Sihun near Akhsy).

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[823] *Akhsiket*, one of the ancient capitals of Ferghana, is mentioned by Ibn Haukal and other Mohammedan authors of the ninth and tenth centuries. See also Edrisi, ii. 210; Abulfeda, II. ii. 226. In the days of Sultan Baber (*l. c.*) it was still an important place and a strong fortress on the northern bank of the Sihun. Akhsiket was famed for its melons. It seems that now-a-days only the ruins of this place exist; at least, its

BA-BU = PAP.

This name appears on the ancient map south of Kasan, and is evidently the *Ba-p'u* of Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, just spoken of.

Sultan Baber (*l. c.* i. 238) notices a place *Pap* in Ferghana, situated near the river of Akhsy.

On the Russian map I find a place *Pap*, north of the Syr daria, on the road from Namangan to Khodjend. It lies about sixteen English miles west of Akhsy.

position is only indicated in the detailed Russian map of Turkestan south-west of Kasan, on the northern bank of the Syr daria. According to Baber, the river on which Kasan lies flows into the Sihun near Akhsy. Judging from the Russian map, the Kasan river dries up before reaching the Syr daria.

I may observe that *Ferghana* seems to have been known to the Chinese since the days of the Han, when, in the second century B.C., Chang K'ien first penetrated to the countries beyond the T'sung ling mountains. Hüan ts'ang, in the first half of the seventh century, notices the kingdom of *Fei-han*, 1000 *li* south-east of *Che-shi* (Shash, Tashkend). It was then 4000 *li* in circuit, and enclosed by mountains on every side. The soil was rich and fertile ; excellent horses, sheep, &c. A kingdom called *Po-han*, *Po-han-na*, or *Fa-han-na* (Ferghana) is mentioned in the same period in the T'ang history, and even as early as the sixth century (Sui dynasty) among the countries west of the T'sung ling mountains. Its capital is called *Si-kien* (Akhsiket ?), situated on the northern bank of the river *Chen chu*. There were six larger cities and about a hundred smaller places. One of the first was called *Ko-sai* (Kasan ?). After the ruler of Fa-han-na had acknowledged Chinese supremacy, this kingdom received in 744 the Chinese name *Ning yüan*. For further details see Hyacinth's "Nations of Central Asia," iii. 251, 202, 186.

The Khanate of *Khokand* of our days, the history of which is very obscure, is said to have been founded in the middle of the seventeenth century by an Uzbeg prince, Shah Rokh, who established his residence at a place called *Kukan*, situated twenty versts west of the present city of *Khokand*, which was built by Shah Rokh's son. See Ritter's "Asien," v. 772. The *Khoakand* in Ferghana of Ibn Haukal is evidently the same name (Abulfeda, II. ii. 225). Sultan Baber (i. 52) speaks of a district *Kukan* in Ferghana.

Since the year 1876 Khokand forms the Russian province of *Ferghana.*

MA-RH-I-NANG=MARGHINAN.

This is doubtless the city of *Marghinan* mentioned by Ibn Haukal in the tenth century as a city of Ferghana (Abulfeda, II. ii. 215). Sultan Baber, in his description of Ferghana (i. 5), states that Marghinan is famed for its pomegranates and other fruits.

P. Nazaroff, a Russian traveller to Khokand, 1813–14, who was detained for three months in *Marghilan*, as he writes the name, gives a detailed description of the city (Klaproth's "Magaz. Asiat.," i. 53).

On the Russian maps the name is also written *Marghilan*, and on Chinese maps of the last century *Ma-rh-k'o-lang*.

HU-DJAN=KHODJEND.

There can be no doubt that by Hu-djan on the ancient map the city of *Khodjend* on the Syr daria is meant.

As we have seen, Khodjend is mentioned by the Arab annalists among the cities of Ferghana taken in 712 by Kutaiba. See also Abulfeda, II. ii. 225, who terms the city *Khodjanda*.

When the Mongol armies invaded Western Asia in 1220, the valiant Timur Melik defended Khodjend.

Sultan Baber, i. 6, speaks of Khodjend as of a very ancient city, and praises its excellent fruits, especially pomegranates.

Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, when speaking of *K'u-djan* (see i. 19), also notices the fine pomegranates there.

In the Yüan shi, chap. cli., biography of *Sie-t'a-la-hai*, one of Chinghiz' generals, who was with the conqueror in Western Asia, the name Khodjend is rendered by *Hu-ch'an*.

Philippe Nazaroff, sent in 1813 by the Russian Government on a mission to the khan of Khokand, was, it seems, the first European who saw Khodjend. In 1866 Khodjend was taken by the Russians.

The river *Syr daria*, on the southern bank of which Khodjend is situated—the *Sihun* of the Persian authors, the *Iaxartes* of the ancients—is termed *Ho-ch'an* or *Hu-k'ien* by Chinese mediæval travellers (see Part I.). This appellation may be explained by the fact that the Arabs generally called the Sihun "nahar Khodjand," the river of Khodjend. See notes 189, 334.

CH'A-CH'I=CHACH OR TASHKEND.

A place of this name is marked on the ancient map, north-west of the afore-mentioned cities of Ferghana; and this position permits its identification with *Chach*, which was, as is generally believed, the ancient name for the present *Tashkend*.

Sultan Baber (i. 97), when speaking of Tashkend, states that in books this city is generally called *Shash;* some authors also write *Chach*.

Shash was taken in 712 by Kutaiba (*vide* p. 46). It is mentioned by Ibn Haukal and other authors of the same period. Al Biruny, who wrote in the eleventh century, identifies it with the "Stone Tower" of Ptolemy, the starting-point for the caravans proceeding to the country of the Seres (China). See Abulfeda, ccclxix.; II. ii. 221.

In d'Ohsson's "Hist. des Mongols" the name of Shash or Chach does not appear. *Tashkand* is only once mentioned, iv. 557, *s. a.* 1306. It is marked also on d'Ohsson's map. In the days of Timur, Tashkend played an important *rôle*, and frequent mention is made of this place in the Mohammedan records of Timur's warlike doings.

To the Chinese, *Shash* or *Chach* was well known during the T'ang period, in the seventh and eighth centuries, and they had frequent intercourse with it. In the T'ang history this realm is termed *Shi*,[824] and also *Che-chi* or *Che-che* (Chach). It is said there that in the days of the

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[824] *Shi* in Chinese means "stone." *Tash* in the Turkish dialects has the same meaning. Thus Tashkend means "stone city."

Han it formed the northern boundary of the country *Ta wan*, first reached by the Chinese general Chang K'ien in about 130 B.C. The residence is called *Che-che*. To the south-west the river *Yao-sha*, called also *Chen-chu* or *Chi*, is noticed. Five hundred *li* to the south-west was *Kang* (Samarkand). To the north-east Shi bordered upon the dominions of the western *T'u-küe* (Turks). At *Ta-lo-sz'* (Talas; see note 585) the king of Shi kept a garrison (here was the frontier). Shi was famed for its horses, &c. For further particulars see Hyacinth's "Nations of Central Asia," iii. 243.

The same kingdom was visited in the first half of the seventh century by Hüan ts'ang, who, according to his narrative, travelled from Talas westward and south-westward, and then arrived at *Che-shi* (Chach).

The name Tashkend in Chinese works seems to occur as early as the Mongol period. In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1309, mention is made of the taxes which had to be gathered from the cities of *Sa-ma-rh-kan* (Samarkand), *T'a-la-sz'* (Taras), and *T'a-shi-yüan*[825] (Tashkend). In the Ming shi Tashkend is termed *Ta-shi-gan* (see Part IV.).

U-TI-LA-RH=OTRAR.

The position of *Otrar*—this place is evidently meant—is erroneously marked on the ancient map in relation to Tashkend and Sairam.

It seems that the name Otrar first occurs in the Mohammedan authors of the thirteenth century. Its ancient name, or perhaps the name of a city near the site of Otrar, was *Farab*, which is mentioned by the authors from the ninth to the twelfth century. Ibn Haukal states that it was situated on the river of Shash (Sihun). He speaks also of the river of Farab, which comes out from the Shash river (he means probably the *Arys*, an affluent of the Syr daria). Compare Albufeda, ii. 78, II. ii. 220, who writes *Farab* or *Otrar* and its capital *Kadar*. The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) mentions *Otrar* among the cities of Turkestan.

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[825] The character *yüan* is probably a mistake for the similar-looking character *gan*.

The history of Otrar presents two remarkable events. Its capture by the Mongols in 1219 was the commencement of the conquest of Western Asia; and it was at Otrar that the great Timur died, 18th February 1405, just when he was about to move out on a great expedition against the emperor of China.

Haithon, in his "Account of the Eastern Kingdoms," p. 128, calls *Hotocar* (*Otrar*) the greatest city of Turkestan. King Haithon, the traveller, writes the same name correctly *Otrar*.

The name *Ornas* or *Orpar*, coupled in Pl. Carpini's narrative with *Barchin* (see note 676), is perhaps intended for Otrar.

Concerning the siege and capture of Otrar as recorded in the Chinese annals, see i. 285. The Yüan shi spells the name *Wa-t'o-lo-rh* and *O-ta-la*. *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* mentions *O-ta-la* north-west of Khodjend (see i. 20).

We read in Pegolotti's "Notices of the Land Route to Cathay," written in the first half of the fourteenth century (Yule's "Cathay," 288)—his itinerary mentions first *Gintarchan* (Astrakhan), *Sara* (Sarai), and *Saracanco* (near the river Iaik or Ural [826])—that the distance from the latter place to *Organci* (Urghendj), is estimated at twenty days' journey in camel-waggons, and from Organci to *Oltrarre* (Otrar) thirty-five to forty days. But the direct way from Saracanco to Oltrarre (passing probably north of lake Aral) is stated to take only fifty days. From Oltrarre to *Armalec* (Almalik) Pegolotti reckons forty-five days' journey with pack-asses.

According to Lerch ("Archæol. Journey in Turkestan") the ruins of ancient Otrar are still to be seen a little to the north of the mouth of the river *Arys*, an eastern affluent of the Syr daria.

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[826] This is the *Serachuk* of Ibn Batuta iii. 1. Jenkinson mentions Saraichik as a place existing in 1558. According to Lerch ("Khiva" 23) the ruins of this place can still be seen near *Guriev*, at the mouth of the Ural.

SA-MA-RH-KAN=SAMARKAND.

Samarkand is one of the most ancient and celebrated cities of Asia. The fertile valley of the Zarafshan river, in which Samarkand was built, is mentioned under the name of *Sogdo* in the ancient traditions of Iran. The Zend Avesta names it among the places of abundance created by Ormuzd. From Sogdo the name *Sogdiana* of the Greek and Roman authors is derived. It is generally believed that the place *Maracanda*, visited by Alexander the Great (see Arrian's History) is identical with Samarkand. In Firdusi's Shahnameh the names of *Sogd* and *Samarkand* are frequently mentioned. Ibn Khurdadbih (ninth century), Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, all state that Samarkand is the capital of Sogd. Very little is known of the ancient history of Samarkand. Before the Arabs had conquered Transoxiana, these tracts, and also Sogdiana, belonged to the Turks. In the tenth century we find the Samanide dynasty was reigning over Transoxiana. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Sogdiana was comprised in the dominions of the Ilek khans of Turkestan, who, after the Karakhitai had occupied Turkestan about 1125, continued to rule over Transoxiana as vassals of the ghurkan. In 1213, Osman, the last of these khans, was killed by Sultan Mahmud Khovarazm Shah, who then took possession of Transoxiana, and transferred his residence to Samarkand. He was there when *Chinghiz'* army entered Transoxiana. The city surrendered to the Mongols in 1220 and was destroyed.

Samarkand, in the days of the Mongols, was repeatedly visited by Europeans and other Christians. There was a metropolitan See of the Nestorian Church and also a Latin missionary bishopric at Samarkand in the fourteenth century (Yule's "Cathay," ccxliv. 192). The Christian missionaries in the Middle Ages called it *Semiscant*. M. Polo, i. 191, devotes a chapter to the great city of *Samarcan*, but he did not see it. King Haithon, the traveller, terms it *Semergent*.

The Chinese report respecting Samarkand as follows: There can be no doubt that Sogdiana was known to them as early as the second century B.C., since the famous Chinese general Chang K'ien had visited the countries of the Far West. From the vague accounts found in the histories of the Han, it is not easy to identify the ancient Chinese names applied to the countries of Western Asia. It seems, however, that the country *K'ang-kü*, first spoken of in the history of the Earlier Han, in the second century B.C., included Sogdiana; for in the history of the Northern Wei (386–558) a country in the west called *K'ang* is mentioned, and it is stated there that the dynasty reigning in K'ang is a branch of the former dynasty in K'ang-kü of the Han period. In the history of the T'ang the kingdom of *K'ang* is again spoken of. It was also called *Sa-mo-kien*, which name is evidently intended for Samarkand. In the seventh and eighth centuries the rulers of K'ang used to send embassies to the Chinese court. In the first half of the seventh century, the Buddhist monk Hüan ts'ang visited *Sa-mo-kien*, and his itinerary leaves no doubt that by this name Samarkand is to be understood.

We find Samarkand again mentioned in the Chinese annals in the first half of the twelfth century. Ye-lü Ta-shi, the founder of the Karakhitai dynasty, advanced as far as Samarkand, and even beyond it. In the Chinese narrative of his expedition this name is rendered by *Sün-sz'-kan* (see i. 215). The same name was also in use in the East during the Mongol period. Chinese mediæval travellers to the West in the thirteenth century term Samarkand *Sün-sz'-kan* and also *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*. The latter name is evidently intended for *Semiscant*, a mediæval name for Samarkand (see note 195). Ch'ang ch'un states that the same city was also called *Ho chung fu* (the city between the rivers), which is a literal translation of the

Arabic "Beïn naharein" (see note 221). An interesting explanation is given by Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai of the name *Sün-sz'-kan* (or rather *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*). He states that Western people say that the meaning of this name is "fat;" and as the land there is very fertile, the city received this name. Indeed, *semiz* in Turkish means "fat" (see note 29).[827]

In the annals of the Yüan shi, where Chinghiz' expedition to the west is recorded, both the above-mentioned Chinese names for Samarkand occur. Ibidem, *s. a.* 1309, the same city is called *Sa-ma-rh-kan,* as on our ancient map.

I may, finally, mention an interesting ancient Chinese document referring to Samarkand, and translated by Archimandrite Palladius in the "Chinese Recorder," vi. 108. An ancient monument in *Chin kiang fu,* commemorative of *Ma Sie-li-ki-sz',* a Christian and a native of Samarkand, mentions *Sie-mi-sz'-hien* as a country where the religion of the *Ye-li-k'o-wen* (Christians) dominates; and speaks of a miraculous temple there, one pillar of which was in a hanging position, &c. This statement has special interest, for M. Polo, ii. 162, speaks of the Baron *Mar Sarghis,* a Nestorian Christian, who was governor of *Chinghianfu.* Polo also records (i. 191) the miracle in the Christian church of Samarcan, where one of the columns was without support.

NA-HEI-SHA-BU=NAKHSHEB (KARSHI).

By this name, placed on our ancient map south-west of Samarkand and south-east of Bokhara, only *Nakhsheb* or *Karshi* on modern maps can be meant, a city belonging to the dominions of the khan of Bukhara.

It seems that Nakhsheb is spoken of in the history of the Wei dynasty (386–558). At least the name *Na-she-bo,*

[827] Al Biruny (+1038) states that *Samezkend* is the Turkish name for Samarkand, and that it means "sun-city." See Sprenger's "Post- und Reiserouten des Orientes," 21.

mentioned there under the article *K'ang* (Samarkand) as that of a small realm subject to K'ang, has a strong resemblance to Nakhsheb. The same name appears also in the T'ang history.

Nakhsheb is an ancient city. This name appears in the Shahnameh. It is stated there that in the reign of the Sassanian king *Nushirvan* (531–579) the khan of China invaded Transoxiana and defeated the khan of the *Heitaleh* near *Nakhsheb.*

Ibn Haukal states (Abulfeda, II. ii. 219) that Nakhshab is situated in a plain at a distance of two days' journey from the mountains of Kash (in the east). A desert extends between Nakhshab and the Djihun (Oxus).

Nakhsheb is more than once mentioned in d'Ohsson's "History of the Mongols" (Rashid-eddin and others). When the Mongols first appeared in Transoxiana, Mohammed Khovarezm Shah left Samarkand and fled by way of Nakhsheb. After the capture of Samarkand, Chinghiz encamped the whole summer of 1220 between that city and Nakhsheb.

The present name of the place, *Karshi*, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. We read in the Zafernameh, i. 14: "The name of Karshi was given to the city because of the palace, in Mongol *Karshi*, built by Kepek, khan of Turkestan (+1321), 2½ leagues from Nakhsheb. Timur built a citadel there."

BU-HUA-LA = BOKHARA.

All Mohammedan authors agree in stating that Bokhara is one of the most ancient cities in the world. It is often mentioned in the early history of Persia. In the political changes which have successively taken place in Transoxiana, Bokhara has generally shared a common fate with Samarkand. Thus it was conquered by the Arabs in the beginning of the eighth century. In the tenth century it was the residence of the Samanide dynasty. In the beginning of the eleventh century Bokhara was seized by the Ilek khan of Turkestan. When Chinghiz khan arrived, Bokhara belonged to Khovarezm Shah. This place surrendered to the Mongols in 1220.

The Chinese annals apparently first mention Bokhara by its very name in the seventh century. In the T'ang history, after the article on *K'ang* (Samarkand), nine smaller kingdoms are mentioned, which in former times had been dependent on Samarkand. One of them, the ruler of which in 627 sent an embassy to the Chinese court, is called *An* there, and also *Bu-huo* or *Bu-ho.* This kingdom of Bu-ho is stated to be bounded to the west by the river *Wu-hu.*[828] The same kingdom, *Bu-ho,* was visited about 630 by Hüan ts'ang. He states that it is broad from east to west and narrow from north to south. In point of climate and products it is like Sa-mo-kien (Samarkand). These statements agree with Bokhara.

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[828] The river *Wu-hu* is evidently the *Oxus* or *Djihun*, the *Amu daria* of our days. It is again mentioned in the T'ang shu, in the articles *T'u-huo-lo* (Tokharestan) and *Ho-li-si-mi* (Khorazm). See farther on. Hüan ts'ang writes the name of the river which flows through Khovarezm and Tokharestan *Fo-tsu.* Both Chinese names may be intended for *Wakhsh*, which is still the name of one of the principal affluents of the Oxus. Colonel Yule is of opinion ("Cathay," ccxxxiv.) that also the classical name *Oxus* is derived from Wakhsh. The latter is an ancient name. Edrisi, who gives a detailed account of the Djihun and its affluents, states (i. 472) that the *Wakhsh-ab* takes its rise in the country of the Turks, then arrives in the country of *Wakhsh*, &c.

The Djihun is also called *Amu* or *Amuyeh* by the Mohammedan authors of the Middle Ages. Quatremère (" Mongols," xix. 141) states that this latter name is derived from the city of *Amol*, called also *Amuyeh*, on the Djihun (not to be confounded with the city of *Amol* in Tabaristan, near the Caspian Sea). According to Abulfeda (ii. 78, II. ii. 177), the city of *Amol*, also *Amu*, *Amuyeh*, was situated one mile west of the Djihun, in the latitude of Bokhara. Amol is frequently mentioned by the Mohammedan historians and geographers. There was near this place a much-frequented passage over the Djihun. We learn from Biruny (+1038) that this passage was between *Amol*, near the left bank, and *Faraber*, which lay east of the Djihun. See Sprenger's "Reiserouten der Araber," map i. On the great Russian map of Turkestan I find a place, *Farab*, on the road from Bokhara to Merv, at a distance of about eight versts from the right bank of the Amu daria, opposite *Chardjui*, which lies eight versts west of the river. There can be no doubt that Chardjui represents ancient Amol.

We have seen that the Chinese travellers to the west in the Mongol period call the Oxus *A-mu* or *An-bu.*

The capture of Bokhara by Chinghiz is recorded in the Yüan shi, where the name is written *P'u-hua,* and also *Bu-ha-rh* (see i. 285).

Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai (see i. 22) says that *P'u-hua* is richer than Samarkand.

DI-LI-AN=DARAN (?).

Thus the name is written in the list of the Si pei ti; but on the ancient map it is spelt *Di-an-li,* and placed between Bokhara and Kath. Perhaps *Daran* is intended, according to Abulfeda, II. ii. 211, a city of Khovarezm on its southern border.

KO-T'I=KATH.

This name appears on the map south-east of the place where Khovarezm is marked. It seems *Kath* is meant, a city of Khovarezm. See Abulfeda, II. ii. 210. P. Lerch, in his learned article "Khiva" (1873), xvi. 21, states that in the days of Istakhri and Ibn Haukal (tenth century), Kath, then the capital of Khovarezm, was situated on the northern (right) bank of the Djihun. When Biruny wrote, in the first half of the eleventh century, the city had been transferred to the southern (left) bank, to the place where, according to the Russian maps, now the city of *Kät* stands, about twenty-two English miles north of Khiva. But it is now about twelve miles west of the river, which, as Lerch proves, in the eleventh century passed by Kath.

Kath is not mentioned by the Mohammedan authors translated by d'Ohsson. But in the accounts of Timur's war with Khovarezm, end of the fourteenth century, this name repeatedly appears.

T'E-RH-MI=TERMED.

On our ancient map *T'e-rh-mi* or Termed is placed north of Balkh. On Russian maps the ruins of *Termez*

(Termed) are marked on the northern bank of the Amu daria, about eleven English miles north-west of the mouth of the Surkh-ab river. With respect to Balkh, its position is north-east.

Termed is a very ancient city. The name appears in the Shahnameh. According to Istakhri, it lay on the way from Bokhara and Samarkand (*via* Irongate) to Balkh. Timur, end of the fourteenth century, when proceeding from Samarkand to Balkh, always crossed the river at Termez. Now-a-days the passage over the Amu daria on the way from the Irongate to Balkh is more to the west.

We read in Edrisi (see note 828) that the river Wakhsh-ab (he applies this name not only to the affluent of the Amu daria of this name, but also to the upper part of the main river), after issuing from the mountain, runs along the frontier of the country of Balkh, and reaches *Tarmedh*, then flows on to *Kilif* (this place still exists), to *Zam*, to *Amol*, and finally discharges its waters into the lake of Khovarezm.

According to the Mohammedan authors, Chinghiz took *Termed* by assault in the autumn of 1220 (d'Ohsson, i. 271).

As to the Chinese authors who mention Termed, the earliest seems to be Hüan ts'ang in the seventh century. His country, *Ta-mi*, situated on the great river *Fo-tsu* (Oxus), and coupled with *Tu-ho-lo* (Tokharestan), is without doubt Termed.

The Chinese annals Kang mu record the capture of *T'ie-li-mi* (Termed) by Chinghiz (see i. note 679, and p. 292). In the Yüan shi, chap. cli., biography of *Sie-t'a-la-hai*, where the same fact is related, the name is written *T'ie-li-ma*.

T'U-SZ'=TUS.

The compiler of the ancient map has committed a gross error with respect to the position of *Tus*, for the name of this city is evidently rendered by the Chinese characters *T'u-sz'*,—carrying it too far east—east of Balkh—and assigning it to the Middle Empire. As is well known, Tus in the Mongol period was the capital of Khorassan, a province of Persia.

Tus is a very ancient and celebrated city. The foundation of it is attributed to Djamshid, a mythical king of Persia. The Calif Harun al Rashid died in Tus, A.D. 809. His tomb there was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221. Tus is the native city of the celebrated Persian poet *Firdusi* (940–1020) and of the great astronomer *Nasr-eddin* (1201–74). This city had much to suffer from the Mongol invasion, being first sacked by Subutai in 1220, and destroyed the following year by Tului. It was restored, 1239, by Kuerguez, who had been appointed Mongol governor of Khorassan, and who established his residence there (d'Ohsson, iii. 116, 117). In 1256, Hulagu, on his expedition to Persia, spent several days in Tus and its neighbourhood (d'Ohsson, iii. 190). King Haithon, on his way back from Mongolia, passed through *Tus*. All the Mohammedan geographers speak of Tus.

Tus at an early day was an episcopal See of the Nestorian Church. Yule, "Cathay," xc., states that the existence of an episcopal see at Merv and Tus in 334, raised to metropolitan dignity in 420, is ascertained.

In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1222, the capture of the city of *T'u-sz'* by *T'o-lei* is mentioned.

B. Fraser was the first European in modern times (1823) who visited the ruins of ancient Tus, seventeen English miles north-west of Meshhed.

BA-DA-HA-SHANG = BADAKHSHAN.

Badakhshan, the mountainous region, including the upper part of the valley of the Oxus, is spoken of by most of the ancient Persian and Arabic geographers.

From early times an important trade route passed by Badakhshan, crossing the high transverse mountain chain which connects the T'ien shan with the Karakorum range and the high table-land of Pamir. This is the direct route from the Tarim basin (Kashgar) to Tokharestan. This transverse chain, which we are accustomed to call *Bolor tagh*, although the name seems to be unknown to the natives of those regions, was crossed by Chinese pilgrims of the early centuries. Since the second century B.C., the Chinese geographers designate it by the name of *Ts'ung ling* (Onion mountains). The route over the Pamir and by Badakhshan in the Middle Ages seems to have been of much greater importance than it is now. It was followed by M. Polo, who notices (i. 165, 181) the province of *Badashan* and the plain of *Pamier*.

The name of Badakhshan is met in the early history of Persia (Shahnameh). Ibn Haukal, Edrisi, Abulfeda, all speak with more or less detail of the province of Badakhshan, situated beyond Tokharestan.

The Mohammedan authors of the Mongol period mention Badakhshan several times in connection with the political and military events of that period. Guchluk, the gurkhan of Karakhitai, was slain in Badakhshan in 1218 (d'Ohsson, i. 172). In 1221 the Mongols invaded this country (*l. c.* i. 272). On the same page d'Ohsson translates a short account of Badakhshan by Yakut (+1229), stating that this mountainous country is famed for its precious stones, and especially rubies, called *balakhsh*. The merchants proceeding from Persia to Tibet have to pass through Badakhshan.

Badakhshan was known to the Chinese at an early date; for in the fifth or sixth century they had intercourse with *T'u-ho-lo* (Tokharestan), and knew the route over the Ts'ung ling mountains. The name Badakhshan occurs first in Hüan ts'ang's narrative, about 630; for the kingdom of *Po-to-chang-na*, which he notices in the regions of the Upper Oxus, is evidently Badakhshan.

In the Yüan shi the name of *Ba-da-ha-shang* appears only in the list of the Si pei ti.

K'O-BU-LI=KABUL.

This name is marked on the ancient map south-west of Badakhshan. Evidently *Kabul*, in our days the capital of Afghanistan, is meant. According to Ritter ("Asien," v. 237) this is the *καβοῦρα* of Ptolemy. Ritter traces the name of *Zabulistan* of the ancient Persian and Arabic historians (see Ghazna) also to Kabul. Indeed, Albufeda, II. ii. 204, mentions Kabul among the cities of Zabulistan; but in the ancient historical records of the Persians (Shahnameh) Kabul and Zabulistan are considered as two distinct countries.

The Arabs never conquered these regions, it seems.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Kabul belonged to the empire of the Ghaznian dynasty, and since 1182 to the Sultans of the Gaurian dynasty. When the Mongols appeared, in 1219, in Western Asia, Ghazna and Kabul had been conquered some years earlier by Mohammed Khorazm Shah.

Chinghiz' armies probably entered Kabul, although the Mohammedan historians of that period do not expressly state it; but they mention *Beruan*, which is not far from Kabul, in connection with the Mongol military doings in these regions.

The Chinese knew probably Kabul from early days. Rémusat ("Extension de l'Empire Chinois") identifies a country, *Kao-fu*, noticed in the T'ang history, with Kabul. Ritter (*l. c.* 682) ventures to trace the Chinese name *Ki-pin*, which appears in the same T'ang shu (this western kingdom the Chinese knew already in the fifth century) to Kabul or *Kophene;* whilst Rémusat is of opinion that Ki-pin is Kandahar. But the accounts of these countries as given in the Chinese annals are too vague to allow us to ascertain their position. We can only understand that they lay beyond the *Ts'ung ling* mountains (Bolor).

K'O-DSI-NING=GHIZNIN OR GHAZNA.

Ghazna or *Ghiznin*, as the authors translated by d'Ohsson write the name, is also an ancient city mentioned in the early history of Persia (Shahnameh). It was the capital of the country *Zabulistan*, situated south-west of Kabul. The residence of the Sultans of the Ghaznian dynasty, 976–1184, which ruled over these regions and a great part of India, was at Ghazna. This dynasty was superseded by the Gaurian dynasty. In 1216 Mohammed Khovarezm Shah took possession of Ghazna and Kabul.

Ghazna played an important *rôle* during the Mongol invasion of Persia. Djelal-eddin of Khovarezm rallied his forces at Ghazna after he had been forced to abandon Persia. The city was destroyed by the Mongols in 1222, but was subsequently rebuilt.

Hüan ts'ang, the Chinese pilgrim in the seventh century, notices a city *Ho-si-na* as the capital of the kingdom of *Tsao-kü-cha*. Both names appear also in the T'ang history. Vivien de St. Martin identifies Ho-si-na with Ghazna.

As is known, Ghazna still exists as a town belonging to Afghanistan.

III.—Countries and Places in the Empire of Yue-dsu-bu (Uzbek).

KIN-CHA=KIPCHAK.

The name *Kin-ch'a* has been applied by Chinese mediæval authors since the year 1223 to the country of the *Kipchaks* or *Desht Kipchak*, as the Mohammedan authors termed the tract of land situated north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus mountains, and the Caspian Sea, and covered by vast steppes. D'Herbelot in the " Bibl. Or." translates the Persian word *Desht* by " campagne déserte où il n'y a ni villes ni villages." Charmoy (" Expéd. de Timour," Mém. Acad. St. Petersb., 1836, p. 125) states that *Kipchak* in the Djagatai-Persian dialect has the same meaning, *i.e.*, " desert."

The Kipchaks, according to Rashid, were one of the five sections into which the Turkish nation subject to Oghuz Khan was divided. The Persian historian relates the following legend of the origin of the Kipchaks (Berezin, i. 18):—

Oghuz Khan, having been defeated by the tribe of *Itbarak*, was forced to retire to an island between two rivers. At that time it happened that a woman whose husband had been killed in the battle, being suddenly taken ill, was compelled to take refuge in a hole in a tree, where she give birth to a son. When Oghuz heard of this he said: "As this woman has no husband, I shall adopt her son." The boy received the name *Kipchak*, which is derived from the Turkish word "kubuk," meaning a tree worn hollow by decay. All the people of Kipchak are descended from this adopted son of Oghuz. After seventeen years had elapsed, Oghuz succeeded in gaining the superiority over the Itbarak. He conquered Iran, and returned to his native country. Subsequently, when the Itbarak revolted, Oghuz settled the Kipchak between their country and the river *Iaik* (Ural). Since that time the Kipchak nomadise both in summer and winter in those regions.

The first Mohammedan author who notices the Kipchaks seems to be Edrisi (middle of the twelfth century), who, in enumerating (i. 498) the various Turkish tribes, calls one of them *Kifchak*. The Mohammedan geographers and historians of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries all speak with less or more detail of the Kipchaks (Abulfeda, Ibn Batuta, the Mesalek alabsar, &c.). The eastern neighbours of the Kipchaks were the Kankly (*v. supra*).

The Kipchaks in the Middle Ages were known to their northern and western neighbours by quite different names. In the Russian annals they are always termed *Polovtsy*, and mentioned for the first time in the middle of the eleventh century as a people inhabiting the steppes north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, &c. (Karamzin, ii. 67). Before that time these tracts had been occupied by the *Pechenegs.* The Polovtsy are described as an audacious nomadic people and skilful horsemen. The Russians were frequently at war with them, and it was only when the Polovtsy had been defeated by the Mongols that they made a league with the Russians against the latter (*l. c.* iii. 228).

The Russian historians generally agree that the name *Polovtsy* is to be derived from *polevoi,* which is the adjective of *polye,* "field." Thus the above name would mean "inhabitants of the field" (plain).

In the Hungarian and Byzantine annals the same people bear the name of *Kumans.*[829] By this name they were known also to our western mediæval travellers.

Pl. Carpini states (742, 743): "Ivimus autem per totam terram *Comanorum,* quæ tota est plana, et habet quatuor flumina magna: primum *Neper* (Dnepr) appellatur, juxta quod, ex parte Rusciæ, ambulabat Corenza (a Mongol general), et ex parte altera, per illa campestria, Mauci, qui major est quam Corenza; secundum *Don,* super quod ambulat quidam princeps qui habet sororem Bati in uxorem, qui Cartan appellatur; tercium *Volga,* istud flumen est valde magnum, super quod vadit Bati; quartum *Jaec* appellatur (Iaik, Ural), super quod millenarii duo, unus ex una parte fluminis et alter ex altera parte, vadunt." Ibid. (p. 747): "*Comania* vero habet ab aquilone, immediate post Rusciam, Morduinos,[830] Bileros id est Magnam Bulgariam, Bascartos id est Magnam Hungariam (Bashkirs)."

Rubruck (246) describes his journey through the steppes of the Comans in the following terms: "Et tendebamus recte in orientem ex quo exivimus predictam provinciam Gasarie, habentes mare ad meridiem et vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem, que durat per xxx. dietas alicubi in latitudine, in qua nulla silva, nullus mons, nullus lapis, herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere *Commani* qui dicuntur *Capchat.*"

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[829] This name may be derived from the river *Kuma,* which empties itself into the Caspian Sea.

[830] The *Mordvins,* a people belonging to the Finnish race, still live scattered in the Russian provinces west of the Middle Volga. See note 748.

M. Polo (i. 52) notices the people called *Comanians,* and (ii. 491) speaks of the country of *Comania.*

Haithon, in his "Account of Asiatic Kingdoms" (129), has also a chapter on the kingdom of *Comania.*

I may finally mention that the well-known German traveller, J. Schildberger (beginning of the fifteenth century), mentions the country of *Distihipshah.* Probably he heard of it at the court of Timur.

The Mongols came first in contact with the Kipchaks in 1223, when Subutai with his army crossed the Caucasus; but it was only about twelve years later that their country was subdued, when Batu undertook his famous expedition against the nations north of the Caspian and Black Seas. After Batu returned from Hungary in 1242, he established his residence in Desht Kipchak, near the Lower Volga.[831]

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[831] This capital of the Golden Horde was known in the Middle Ages under the name of *Sarai,* and is mentioned in the Russian annals as well as by western mediæval travellers and Mohammedan geographers (Abulfeda, Ibn Batuta, the Mesalek alabsar, Arab Shah, &c.). Carpini, who visited the court of Batu near the Volga in 1246, does not mention Sarai. Rubruck, who saw Batu in the same region eight years later, is the first author who notices Sarai (380). Sara was known to M. Polo (i. 4) as one of the residences of Barca Kaan, who was the brother and successor of Batu, and ruled over the Kipchak Empire, 1257–65. The late Professor Grigorieff, who many years ago explored the ruins of ancient cities on the Middle and Lower Volga, and published several interesting articles on the subject ("Russia and Asia," 1876, in Russian), proves that Sarai was most probably founded in 1253. He identifies the ruins situated near the modern city of *Tsarev,* on the left bank of the Akhtuba, a branch of the Volga, with ancient Sarai. There was also a place called *New Sarai,* but this name is only known from ancient coins struck since the year 1310. Grigorieff thinks that New Sarai was only a new quarter of the old city. But Colonel Yule, in his learned note on the subject ("M. Polo," i. 5), concludes that there were two cities of Sarai, Old Sarai, near Selitrennoi Gorodok, not very far off from Astrakhan, and the new city, near Tsarev. In 1395 Sarai was set on fire by order of Timur. The city was subsequently rebuilt, but at length definitively destroyed by the Russians in 1480.

Ye-lü Chʻu tsʻai, who accompanied Chinghiz to Western Asia, is the first Chinese author to mention Kipchak, terming it *Kʻo-fu-chʻa.*[832] He describes the country as vast plains without cities, where many horses and much cattle are bred.

The Yüan chʻao pi shi calls the Kipchaks *Kibcha;* the Yüan shi always spells the name *Kin chʻa,* as it is rendered on our map. Compare i. 310–312, for accounts given in these works regarding the conquest of this country by the Mongols.

The Chinese annals Kang mu, *s. a.* 1237, state concerning *Kin-chʻa* that this country is distant thirty thousand *li* from China. In summer the nights there are extremely short; soon after the sun has set it rises again. There are fine horses, and wealthy people breed a large number of them. The people are skilful in working leather and metal. They have blue eyes and red hair.

In the biography of *Tʻu-tʻu-ha* (Yüan shi, chap. cxxviii.), who was a Kipchak prince and general in Kubilai khan's army, the following somewhat obscure account is given of Kin-chʻa:—

The ancestors of the people of Kin-chʻa originally dwelt north of *Wu pʻing,* on the river *Dje-lien,* near the mountain *An-da-han.* (All these names are unknown to me.) *Kʻü-chʻu* emigrated to the north-west, to the mountain called *Yü-li-bo-li,* and this name was then adopted for the reigning family. Kʻü-chʻu had a son *So-mo-na,* who also had a son *I-no-sz'.* They were all hereditary princes of Kin-chʻa. When Chinghiz was at war with the *Mie-li-ki* (Merkits), their prince, *Huo-du,* fled to Kin-chʻa.[833] Chinghiz demanded his delivery, which was refused, when the emperor gave orders to attack Kin-chʻa. When I-no-sz' became old, his realm was troubled by insurrections, and his son *Hu-lu-su-man* then determined to send envoys to Chinghiz and offered his submission. *Meng-kʻo* (Mangu, subsequently Great Khan) received orders to occupy Kin-chʻa. Hu-lu-su-man's son *Ban-du-chʻa* surrendered with his people. Black mare's milk,[834] which was very pleasant to the taste, used to be sent from Kin-chʻa to the court of the Great Khan in China; whence the Kin-chʻa were also called *Ha-la-chʻi.*[835] *Tʻu-tʻu-ha,* in whose biography the above details are recorded, was a son of Ban-du-chʻa. He died in 1279. His son *Chuang-wu-rh,* who died in 1322, was also a renowned general, and his son *Yen-tie-mu-rh* (see his special biography, chap. cxxxviii.) was from 1328–33 minister of the Great Khan Tob temur in China. Yen-tʻie-mu-rh's brother *San-tun* was also minister, as was San-tun's son likewise.

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[832] As we have seen, Edrisi writes *Kifchak.*

[833] Rashid records (Berezin, i. 73) that *Khudu,* a Merkit prince, attempted to flee to Kipchak, but was slain by the Mongols. In the biography of Subutai (see note 689) also it is stated that *Huo-du,* chief of the Merkits, fled to *Kin-chʻa.* He was pursued by Subutai, who vanquished the Kin-chʻa army at *Yü-yü.* The Mohammedan authors record (d'Ohsson, i. 108) the appearance of the Merkits, conducted by their chief Tuk Togan, north of the Aral lake, and their pursuit by the Mongols.

The name Kin-chʻa appears also in the biographies of the following distinguished persons who belonged to that nation :—

Chap. cxxiii.: *Shan-chʻe ba-du-rh.* Chap. cxxxi.: *Wun-djo-du, Bo-tʻie-mu-rh.* Chap. cxxxiii.: *Wan-djo ba-du-rh, Si-du-rh* the son of *Tʻo-sun.*

A-LO-SZ' = RUSSIA.

A-lo-sz' is the Chinese mode of spelling the Mongol *Oros,* by which name the Russians are known even to the present day. The modern Chinese name for Russia is *Wo-lo-sz'.*

The name of Russia (*Rus*) seems to date from the time when Rurik founded a great empire among the Eastern

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[834] This is evidently the *caracosmos* or black cosmos of Rubruck (228), a special kind of kumiz prepared for the use of the rich. See also M. Polo, i. 252.

[835] *Kara* in Mongol means "black." Rashid terms one of the principal tribes of the Turks, to whom the Kipchak also belonged, *Kalladj* (Berezin, i. 20).

Slaves in 862. The origin of the name, which is not quite clear, has been the subject of many controversies. We find it first in the Byzantine annals under the year 865. Dorn, in his "Caspia" (37), proves that previous to Rurik no mention is made of the Russians, either in the Byzantine annals or by Mohammedan and other Oriental writers, although the Slaves of Eastern Europe were well-known to the Arabic and Christian authors in a much earlier period. We find no elucidation on the subject in the Russian annals, for we know the early history of Russia only from Nestor, the first Russian chronicler, who lived in the second half of the eleventh century. He calls his native country *Rus.*

The Byzantine annals record that, A.D. 865, under the reign of the Emperor Michael III., a heathen people, previously unknown, arrived from Scythia at the Bosphorus in two hundred ships and besieged Constantinople. The name of this people was *Ros.* The emperor, who at that time was at war with the Arabs in Asia, made haste to return to deliver his capital, and the fleet of the Ros sailed away. Subsequently the Patriarch Photius (815–891) sent missionaries among the Ros, many of whom were converted, and a Bishop was appointed at Kiev.

According to the Russian annals, this expedition to Constantinople was undertaken by Askold and Dir, the companions of Rurik, who departed with their fleet from Kiev. See Dorn, *l. c.* 30; Sophocles' Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods; Photii Epistolæ.

According to Dorn, the earliest Mohammedan author who mentions the name Rus is the geographer *Yakubi,* who wrote about 890.

In 921 the Calif Muktedir despatched *Ibn Fozlan* to the Bulgars on the river Itil, in order to convert them to Islam. This traveller, who had many opportunities of meeting Russians, has left a very curious account of this people, which was translated into German by Fraehn in 1823. See also Yule's "M. Polo," ii. 488.

The Russians (*Rus*) are spoken of by all the Arabic and Persian historians from the tenth to the fourteenth century, and of course also by Rashid and the other Mohammedan historiographers of the Mongol period.

We have seen from the records of the Russian, Mohammedan, Chinese, and Mongol chronicles (see Part II.) that the Mongols first became acquainted with the Russians in 1223, when Subutai invaded the countries north of the Caucasus. The Russians were then defeated, together with the Kipchaks or Polovtsy on the river *Kalka.* Fourteen years later Russia was again attacked by the Mongols. They appeared on the eastern frontier, ravaged Northern Russia in the winter of 1237–38, and in 1240 devastated the southern principalities, Chernigov, Kiev, &c. After returning from Hungary in 1242, Batu established his residence near the Lower Volga (see note 831). His dynasty is known to the Mohammedans as that of *Desht Kipchak;* whilst the Russian annals call it *Zolotaya orda* (Golden Horde). Russia was for more than 250 years under its yoke. The Russian Grand-dukes and all her other princes were forced to repair to the court of the Golden Horde to pay homage. Whoever attempted to disobey, or incurred the khan's displeasure, met with death at the hands of the Mongol executioner. Thus *Michael* of *Chernigov,* who refused to bow before the Mongol idols, was executed in the ordo of Batu khan in 1246. The tragedy is reported with some detail in the Russian annals as well as by Pl. Carpini (621), who speaks as an eye-witness. Another cruel execution of a Russian prince is recorded under the reign of Uzbeg khan. After the death of the Grand-duke Andreï of Vladimir, two Russian princes, *Michael* of Twer and *Yury* of Moscow, disputed the throne. Yury was defeated by Michael, and the wife of the former, being a sister of Uzbeg, was made prisoner and died soon after. Michael was then summoned to appear before the khan, who at that time was travelling towards Derbend. Michael obeyed and was cruelly put to death in 1319. His son *Dmitry* was executed in 1325.

After Russia was subdued by the Mongols, the Grand-duke *Yaroslav* II. of *Vladimir*, 1238–46, appeared in person before Batu, who acknowledged his supremacy over the other Russian principalities. Yaroslav sent his son Constantine to Karakorum, to the Great Khan Ogotai. The prince returned in 1245, having been absent for two years. (Russian annals, Karamzin, iv. 31, 295.) In the next year Yaroslav was again summoned to repair with his family to Batu's ordo, and then forced to proceed to the court of the Great Khan, to exculpate himself on account of some denunciations brought against him by one of the Russian noblemen. After an audience with Kuyuk khan, Yaroslav was allowed to return. He died, however, on his way home, 30th September 1246. His body was carried to Vladimir (Russian annals).

Pl. Carpini, who spent more than three months (July to November 1246) at the court of Kuyuk near Karakorum, saw Yaroslav there. According to him, the Grand-duke had been poisoned and died at the court during Carpini's stay there. He writes as follows (761, 762): "Eodem tempore mortuus fuit *Ieroslaus*, dux magnus in quadam parte Russiæ quæ *Susdal*[836] nominatur. Hic modo fuit vocatus ad matrem Imperatoris, quæ dedit ei manducare et bibere, quasi pro honore, de manu ipsius; et reversus est ad hospicium incontinenti, et infirmatus, et fuit mortuus post septem dies, et totum corpus ejus miro modo factum est glaucum; quare credebatur ab omnibus quod potionatus esset ibidem, ut suam terram libere et plenarie possiderent: et ad hoc est argumentum quod incontinenti, nescientibus hominibus suis qui erant ibi, misit nuncium festinanter in Rusciam ad *Alexandrum*[837] filium ejus ut veniret ad ipsam, quia vellet ei terram patris donare; qui ire noluit, sed remansit: et medio tempore dabat litteras ut ipse veniret ut terram patris sui haberet. Credebatur tamen ab omnibus quod eum occideret si veniret, vel etiam perpetuo captivaret."

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[836] *Suzdal* is still the name of a city north of Vladimir. It was in ancient times the capital of a considerable principality of the same name, belonging originally to the house of Yaroslav, Grand-duke of Vladimir.

[837] Plano Carpini means the valiant *Alexander Nevsky*, thus named on account of the victory he gained over the Swedes in 1240 on the Neva river. He was Prince of Novgorod.

Yaroslav is again mentioned in Carpini's narrative, p. 771, in the chapter de testibus qui in terra Tartarorum nos invenerunt: "In reversione in terram *Biserminorum* (Mussulmans) in civitate *Lemfinc* (probably a clerical error for *Ianckint* or Yanghikend, see note 676) invenimus Ugneum, qui de mandato uxoris Ieroslai et Bati ibat ad prædictum Ieroslaum, et Cocteleben et omnem societatem ejus. Isti omnes reversi sunt in terram Susdalensium in Ruscia; a quibus poterit, si oportuerit, veritas invenire. Apud *Mauci*[838] invenerunt socios nostros qui remanserant dux Ieroslaus et societas ejus."

On p. 749 he alludes to the journey of some Russians who went through the country of the Kankalis to join Yaroslav: "Post hoc terram intravimus Cangitarum quæ magnam habet in pluribus locis penuriam aquarum; in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum: unde homines Ieroslai ducis Rusciæ, qui in terram Tartarorum ibant ad ipsum, fuerunt, propter sitim, plures mortui in illo deserto."

Alexander Nevsky (see note 837), Prince of Novgorod, the son of Yaroslav, was also forced to undertake the painful journey to the court of the Great Khan, in which he was accompanied by his younger brother, Andrei. They returned in 1249. Alexander was invested by the khan with the rule over Southern Russia (Kiev), and in 1252 he ascended the throne of Vladimir.

The subjection of Russia to the khans of the Golden Horde referred chiefly to the tribute the Russians were obliged to pay. At first the khans farmed out the tribute due by the Russians to some Mohammedan merchants

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[838] On p. 740 Pl. Carpini states that *Mauci* was a Mongol general who commanded on the left bank of the Dnepr.

(called *Bussurman* merchants in the Russian annals; Karamzin, iv. 329), and the tax-gatherers collected the dues with the greatest rigour and cruelty. They were assisted by Mongol officers, called *baskaks* by the Russian chroniclers (*l. c.* iv. 97). Compare Pl. Carpini, 703: "*Baschatos* sive præfectos suos ponunt in terra illorum quos redire permittunt." In the fourteenth century the Russian princes succeeded in obtaining permission to collect the taxes themselves, and to carry the tribute directly to the khan. Besides the heavy taxes there was another duty imposed upon them by the Mongols. At the demand of the khan they had to supply troops and fight against the enemies of the latter. We shall see farther on that in the time of Kubilai khan there was a division composed of Russian soldiers cantoned even in the vicinity of Pekin. As to the administration of Russia, however, and its political relations, the Mongols did not change the then existing state of things. The grand-dukes were allowed to rule their people as they liked, and the Christian religion was also respected. Karamzin gives (iv. 179) the translation of a *yarligh*, or written patent, granted in the beginning of the fourteenth century to the Russian clergy by Uzbeg khan. This patent exempted the clergy from taxation.

After the death of Uzbeg (1312–42), the dynasty of the Golden Horde began to decline. The first attempt to profit by this debility of the Mongols was made by *Dimitry*, grand-duke of Moscow, who in 1380 (8th September) defeated the Khan *Mamai* with great slaughter. This memorable battle, known in Russian history as the battle of the "field of snipes" (*Kulikovoye polye*), was fought at the place where the river *Nepriadva* discharges into the *Don*. Dimitry received on this account the surname *Donskoi*. This brilliant victory did not break down the Mongol power, however; for a few years later Mamai's successor, *Tokhtamysh*, unexpectedly appeared at Moscow, and sacked and burnt the capital, when Dimitry again became a vassal of the Mongols. At the end of the fourteenth century the Golden Horde experienced a serious shock by the invasion of the great *Timur*. The latter, in 1395, when pursuing Toktamysh, advanced as far as *Yelets*, near the river Don, in the province of Orel, devastating the land adjacent to this river. After the conqueror left Russia, the grand-duke *Vassily I.* (1389–1425) refused to Tokhtamysh the payment of tribute. But he had underestimated the power of the khan, who in 1408 arrived with a great host and imposed a heavy fine on Moscow as indemnity. In the first half of the fifteenth century the Mongol empire of Kipchak was much weakened, owing to the rise of two new khanates—those of *Kazan* and the *Crimea*. The subjection of Russia to the Golden Horde then became quite nominal, and the tribute paid to the khans consisted merely in presents sent from time to time by the grand-dukes, who were on good terms with the Horde of the Crimea. The Mongol dynasty of Kipchak, or the Golden Horde, was destroyed in 1502 by Mengli Girei, khan of the Crimean Horde. In Russian history this date marks the end of the period designated by the name of the Mongol yoke.

It seems that Russia was unknown to the nations of Eastern Asia before the Mongol period. In the Mongol and Chinese annals the Russians are first mentioned after Subutai's invasion of Southern Russia in 1223. The Yüan chao pi shi terms Russia or the Russians *Orus*, as they are called even now by the Mongols. The Chinese of the Mongol period write *A-lo-sz'*, sometimes also *Wa-lo-sz'* or *U-lu-sz'*. All these names evidently render the Mongol appellation *Orus*.[839]

In the Yüan shi Russia is frequently mentioned. Regarding the Mongol and Chinese records of the conquest of Russia, compare Part II. I may notice here some other instances where the Russians are spoken of in the Yüan shi.

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[839] I may observe that in Mongol no word begins with the consonant *r*. Thus the Mongols, in rendering the word *Rus*, prefix a vowel to the name.

We read in the annals, *s. a.* 1253, that the Emperor *Meng-k‘o* (Mangu) ordered *Bi-dje Bie-rh-k‘o* to be sent to *Wu-lo-sz’* in order to take a census of the people.[840]

It is an interesting fact recorded in the Yüan shi that there was in the first half of the fourteenth century a settlement of Russians near Peking. In the annals, chap. xxxiv., *s. a.* 1330, it is stated that the Emperor *Wen tsung* (Tob timur, 1329–32, the great-grandson of Kubilai) formed a regiment composed of *U-lo-sz’* or Russians. This regiment being commanded by a *wan hu* (commander of ten thousand of the third degree), received the name "The Ever-faithful Russian Life-guard." It was placed under the direct control of the council of war. Farther on in the same chapter it is stated that 140 *king* of land, north of *Ta tu* (Peking) was bought from the peasants and allotted to these Russians, to establish a camp and to form a military colony. We read again in the same chapter that they were furnished with implements of agriculture, and were bound to present for the imperial table every kind of game, fish, &c., found in the forests, rivers, and lakes of the country where their camp was situated. This Russian regiment is again mentioned in chap. xxxv.

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[840] This statement seems to be corroborated by the Russian annals, in which it is related (but a few years later) that in 1257 Mongol officers arrived at Suzdal, Riazan, and Murom, to take a census of the people, and special officers were appointed to collect the taxes, when none but the clergy were exempt. In 1259 two Mongol officers, *Berkai* and *Kassachik*, arrived with their families and many Mongols on the river *Volkhov*, in order to number the Russian people. This measure caused a revolt in Novgorod (Karamzin, iv. 71, 74). I am inclined to identify the *Berkai* of the Russian annals with the *Bi-dje Bie-rh-k‘o* in the Yüan shi. *Bi-dje* or *bi-dge-ch‘i*, as the word is also written in the Yüan shi, is a Mongol title which may be translated by "secretary." In modern Mongol a letter is *bichik*. In Rashid's "Hist. of the Mongols" we frequently meet with the term *bitikchi*. D'Ohsson (iv. 371, 380, 381, 410) translates it by "officiers du département des finances." According to the Yüan shi, chap. xxxv., there were in the *hu pu*, or Board of Revenue, seven *bi-dje-ch‘i*. In chap. xcix., on the Emperor's body-guard, his secretaries are called *bi-djc-ch‘i*. Compare Odoric's report on the Khan's court at Khanbalik (Yule's "Cathay," 132): "And there be four scribes to take down all the words the king may utter."

In chap. xxxvi. it is recorded that in the year 1332 the prince *Djang-ghi* presented 170 Russian prisoners and received a pecuniary reward.[841] On the same page we read that clothes and corn were bestowed on a thousand Russians. In the same year the prince *Yen tʻie-mu-rh*[842] presented 1500 Russian prisoners to the Chinese emperor, and another prince, *A-rh-ghia-shi-li*, presented thirty.

Finally, in the biography of *Bo-yen*, chap. cxxxviii., he is stated to have been appointed in 1334 commander of the emperor's life-guard, composed of Mongols, Kipchaks, and Russians.

Such is all I have been able to find in the Yüan history regarding the Russians. It seems that no one of the Russians in the service of the Mongol emperors in China has played a conspicuous part. At least among the biographies in the Yüan shi the Russians have no representatives, whilst many distinguished statesmen and captains of the Mongol-Chinese empire were from the Kipchaks, Kankalis, Alans, and other nations subdued by the Mongols.

BU-LI-A-RH=BULGAR.

On the ancient map this name is written *Bu-sz'-a-rh;* but the second character is evidently misspelt, for the Si pei ti writes the name as above. There can be no doubt that *Bulgar*, east of the Volga, is meant. The Mohammedan authors call it also *Bular* or *Bolar* (Abulfeda, ii. 324).[843]

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[841] This is probably *Djinkshi* of the Mohammedan authors, khan of the Middle Empire between 1330 and 1333. See d'Ohsson, iv., geneal. tabl. The khans of the Middle Empire were often at war with the khans of Kipchak, and thus it is not unlikely that Russian soldiers had been made prisoners by Djinkshi.

[842] The genealogical table of the Mongol dynasty in the Yüan shi mentions a prince *Yen-t'ie-mu-rh*, a descendant of Kubilai's brother *Bo-ch'o*. It is, however, difficult to understand how he should have captured 1500 Russians. The Chinese annals speak probably of another prince of this name.

[843] Two distinct branches of the Bulgars are known in history. One of them dwelt for ages on the river Volga. The Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras supposes that they took their name from the river Βούλγα (Volga), on which they were settled. These Bulgars have long ago disappeared, and are known to us only from the accounts of contemporary

Bulgar was the name of a rich country situated on the eastern bank of the Volga, and on the river Kama. The capital of it had the same name. It was a renowned emporium in the Middle Ages. The ruins of the ancient city of *Bulgar* still exist, and have been the subject of learned investigation by several Russian scholars.[844] These remains are found on the spot where now the village *Uspenskoye*, called also *Bolgarskoye*, stands, in the district of Spask, province of Kazan. This village is about four English miles distant from the Volga, east of it, and eighty-three miles from Kazan.

The fullest ancient account of Bulgar we possess is that written by Ibn Fozlan in the beginning of the tenth century (above, 74), which has been translated from the Arabic by Fraehn. Most of the Arabic and Persian geographers from the tenth to the fourteenth century speak of Bulgar.

Bulgar is, of course, mentioned by the Russian chroniclers at an early date of Russian history, but not earlier than the tenth century. The Byzantine authors of that period knew also Bulgar on the Volga.

According to the Mohammedan authors, the Mongols first invaded the country of Bulgar at the end of 1223 (Subutai's expedition), and in 1236, when a new Mongol

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Arabic and Byzantine writers, and some ancient coins coined in the city of Bulgar. No written documents of the Volga Bulgars have come down to us. The other branch, known under the name of Bulgars of the Danube, still exists. Probably they belonged to the same stock as the Volga Bulgars. Early Byzantine writers mention them in the regions north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. They increased in power after the destruction of the empire of the Huns (Attila). Towards the end of the fifth century these Bulgars are recorded to have crossed the Danube. They then settled in Mœsia and Thrace, where they still live. The original Bulgars on the Volga, according to Fraehn, were a mixture of Fins, Slaves, and Turks. The Danubian Bulgars since their appearance in history are reckoned among the Slaves, speak a Slavonic idiom, and have been Christians from an early date.

[844] *Pallas*, "Reisen," i. 121; *Fraehn*, "Ibn Fozlan über die Russen," 1823; Idem, "Wolga Bulgaren," 1832; *Berezin*, "Bulgar on the Wolga," 1853 (in Russian); *Grigorieff*, "Russia and Asia," 1876 (in Russian); *Yule*, "M. Polo," i. 6.

expedition had been directed to the west, Subutai was again detached with a division to sack the city of Bulgar, whereupon the country submitted (d'Ohsson, i. 345, II. iii.). Berezin notices a strange Arabic inscription very frequently met with, not only among the ruins of Bulgar, but also in some other places in the province of Kazan. This inscription means "adventus oppressionis." The anagram of the Arabic letters converted into numbers gives the year 623 of the Hegira, or A.D. 1226. It does not appear, however, from the Mohammedan records above quoted that the Bulgars had been troubled in that year.

Berezin further states that all the ruins of Bulgar refer to the Mohammedan period, *i.e.*, from the tenth century, when the Bulgars on the Volga embraced Islam, to the fifteenth century, and that the oldest inscriptions found there cannot be traced back earlier than the Mongol invasion. Since the occupation of the country by the Mongols the Bulgars as a nation disappeared from history; but the city of Bulgar, even during the Mongol period, preserved its importance as a place of trade and a centre of Mohammedan learning. It seems that previous to the foundation of Sarai (see note 831) Bulgar was the residence of the khans of the Golden Horde. We know coins struck at Bulgar in Batu's reign.

Pl. Carpini, in his narrative, mentions the Bulgars three times (677, 708, 747), and always under the double name *Bileri* id est *Magna Bulgaria.* Rubruck (252) states: "*Etilia* (Volga) est major fluvius quam unquam viderim, et venit ab aquilone, de *Majori Bulgaria* tendens at meridiem."[845]

M. Polo, i. 45, states that Barca Kaan (see note 831) was accustomed to reside at *Sara* and *Bolgara.*

The Catalan map applies the name *Bulgaria* to the country south of the Lower Danube, which even now bears the same name. Opposite Bulgaria, north of the

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[845] By *Minor Bulgaria* in the Middle Ages was understood Bulgaria on the Danube.

Danube, we read on the same map the name *Burgaria*, whilst the original country of the Bulgars, or rather the city east of the river Edil, is termed there *Borgar*.

In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi the name of Bulgar is rendered by *Bular* (see i. 300, 305). The Yüan shi does not record the capture of Bulgar by the Mongols.

The city of Bulgar seems to have perished early in the fifteenth century, after which *Kazan* practically took its place.

SA-GHI-LA=SOLGAT (?).

On the ancient map this name is placed west of Russia. The only place the mediæval name of which has some resemblance to Sa-ghi-la is *Solgat*, which, according to Abulfeda (ii. 320), was the capital of the Crimea (*Kirym*), half a day's journey from the sea. It is not to be confounded with the *Soldaia* of Rubruck (215) and M. Polo (i. 2), in the Middle Ages an important seaport on the south-east coast of the Crimea. The Orientals call it generally *Sudak*, but Edrisi, ii. 394, terms this place *Soldadia*. Sudak was taken by the Mongols in 1223.

A-LAN A-SZ =ALANS OR ASES.

This name on the map is intended for the *Alans* or *Aas*, by which latter appellation they were generally known in Asia in the Middle Ages.

The Alans were settled from early times on the northern skirts of the Caucasus, where they are mentioned by the Roman and Greek authors since the beginning of our era, as well as by the Byzantine writers and Arabic geographers in a later period. See Klaproth's "Asia Polyglotta," p. 85 *seq.;* Yule's "Cathay," 316.

Mas'udi, ii. 42 *seq.*, gives detailed accounts of the Alans. He terms their capital *Maas*, and reports, among others, that there is between the kingdom of the Alans and the Caucasus a castle and a bridge spanning a large river. This castle is known by the name of the castle of the Alans. It was built in ancient times by a king of Persia, Isfendiar, son of Gushtasp, to prevent the invasion of Persia by the Alans.[846] Mas'udi states that the Alans were Christians, but subsequently embraced Islam.

In the Russian annals the Alans are always termed *Yasy*.[847] In A.D. 936 Swiatoslav is reported to have captured the city of Bielowej, on the Don, belonging to the Khazars, and to have waged war with the *Yasy* and the *Kasogi*. The same Yasi are also spoken of by the Russian chroniclers of the thirteenth century as a people living near the Caucasus beyond the river Terek (Karamzin, iv. 119, 355).

The Mongols, when they had passed the Caucasus in 1223, found the Alans living on the northern skirts of the Caucasus. Fifteen years later the Alans became subject to Batu khan, after they had made a stout resistance to the Mongols. The Mohammedan historians who record the expeditions against the Alans call them indiscriminately *Alans* or *Asi* (d'Ohsson, ii. 619, 620).

Plano Carpini and Rubruck also identify the Alans and the Asi. The former (709) calls them *Alani* sive *Asi*, and mentions (748) their abodes south of Comania. Rubruck says (246): ". . . Commani qui dicuntur Capchat; a Teutonicis vero dicuntur *Valani*, et provincia *Valania*. Ab Ysidoro vero dicitur, a flumine Tanay (Don) usque paludes Meotidis et Danubium, *Alania*." On p. 252 we read: "Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos, in quibus habitant, in lateribus versus solitudinem illam, *Cherkis* et *Alani* sive *Aas,* qui sunt Christiani et adhuc (1254) pugnant contra Tartaros." On p. 243 Rubruck says: "In vigilia Pentecostes (1253; he was then somewhere near the Don river) venerunt ad nos quidam *Alani,* qui ibi dicuntur *Aas,* Christiani secundum ritum Græcorum, et habentes litteras grecas et sacerdotes grecos, &c."

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[846] Klaproth is of opinion that this Alan castle is the same as the *Porta caucasica* of the ancients, known also in later times under the name of *Porta cumana*. He places it in the defile of *Dariel*, valley of the Upper Terek, not far from Mount Kazbek, where the great road from Tiflis to Russia now passes. Klaproth translates also a passage from a Persian history of Derbend, stating that the Persian king Kobad (491–531), in order to protect his empire against the invasions of the Khazars, ordered a wall to be erected which from Derbend stretched westward to the *Babi-Alan* or Alan gate. Mas'udi attributes the construction of this wall to Nushirvan (see farther on *sub* Derbend).

[847] De Guignes, iv. 344, erroneously identifies the *Yasy* of the Russian annals (misunderstood by him) with the *Yazygs* in Hungary.

M. Polo (ii. 491) mentions *Alania* among the countries conquered by the Mongols, and (ii. 162) devotes a whole chapter to an account of the slaughter of certain Alans who were Christians and formed a corps in Kubilai's army. This slaughter took place in the city of *Chinginchu* (Chang chou fu, in Kiang su).

Marignolli, in the middle of the fourteenth century, writes regarding the Alans (Yule's "Cathay," 373): "They form at this day the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men. It is by their aid that the Tartars have won the empire of the east, and without them they have never gained a single important victory. For Chinguis Caan, the first king of the Tartars, had seventy-two of their princes serving under him when he went forth under God's providence to scourge the world."[848]

Ibn Said (thirteenth century), quoted in Abulfeda (ii. 287), distinguishes between *Alans* and *Asses;* but he admits that the latter live in the vicinity of the Alans, belong to the same race, and have the same religion as the Alans, who are Turks who have embraced the Christian faith.

But Josafo Barbaro (1436), in his narrative of travels, says: "L'Alania e derivata da' populi detti *Alani,* li quali nella lor lingua si chiamano *As.*"

Klaproth identifies the Alans and the As with the

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[848] As will be shown farther on, Marignolli's statement about the prominent position the Alans occupied in the Mongol-Chinese empire is fully corroborated by the Yüan shi. But he is mistaken as to the Alans in Chinghiz khan's service. As we have seen, the country of the Alans was only conquered in the reign of Ogotai.

Ossethi, still existing in the Caucasus. Vivien de St. Martin has adduced reasons against this identification, though he considers both tribes to have been originally members of one great stock of *Asi*, who, by different routes and at times widely separated, severally found their way from Central Asia to the region of the Caucasus.

De Guignes (ii. 279), and after him Klaproth ("Tabl. Hist. As.," 174), have endeavoured to prove that the Alans were known to the Chinese since the second century before our era. I may be allowed to show on what facts their supposition is based. In the history of the Anterior Han (chap. xcvi.) a realm *Yen-ts'ai* is spoken of 2000 *li* north-west of *K'ang-kü* (Samarkand). The people of this country are stated to be nomads and to resemble the people of K'ang-kü. It is further stated that Yen-ts'ai is situated on a great lake (properly a marsh) with flat shores, which is called the Northern Sea. In the history of the Posterior Han (chap. cxviii.) Yen-ts'ai is again mentioned, and it is observed there that the name of the country had been changed to *A-lan-ya*. In the history of the Wei (386–558) mention is made of a kingdom *Su-t'e* north-west of K'ang-kü, situated on a great lake, and anciently called *Yen-ts'ai* and *Wen-na-sha*. I am unable to decide whether these vague accounts of Yen-ts'ai and the resemblance of the name *A-lan-ya* to *Alania* are sufficient to establish the identity of these names.

We learn from the Yüan shi that in the Mongol period the Alans were not only well known in China, but their nation furnished many able officers to the Mongol-Chinese empire. Several of them held high offices or distinguished themselves as valiant captains. Among the biographies in the Yüan shi, more than twenty meritorious Alans, some of them of royal blood, have been immortalised, and besides these the names of many others are found there.

The Alans are generally termed there *A-su*, sometimes also *A-sze*. The name *A-lan* occurs there only once, viz., in the list of the Si pei ti, where it is coupled with *A-su*, as on the map.

As we have seen, the Yüan shi mentions the *A-su* first *s. a.* 1223.

I now proceed to give a list of the Alans whose names appear in the biographies of the Yüan shi.

Chap. cxxxii., *Hang-hu-sz'* (the name is also written *Ang-ho-sze*). When the army of the Emperor Ogotai had reached the country of the *A-su*, the ruler of it, named Hang-hu-sz', surrendered spontaneously; whereupon the emperor granted him the title *ba-du-rh* (bahadur; see note 668), and a golden tablet of authority, confirming him as ruler of his country. Order was given also to form a regiment of a thousand men of the A-su people (for the life-guard of the khan). Hang-hu-sz' had two sons, *A-tʻa-chʻi* and *An-fa-pʻu*, the former of whom took service in the emperor's life-guard. Hang-hu-sz', after he had returned home, was slain in an insurrection, and his widow, *Wai-ma-sz'*, was then placed at the head of the government. She put on armour, quelled the riot, and then handed over the power to her son *An-fa-pʻu*.

Hang-hu-sz''s eldest son, *A-tʻa-chʻi*, whose biography is found in chap. cxxxv., was a valiant captain under Mangu and Kubilai, and distinguished himself in the war against the Sung in China. He had a son named *Bo-ta-rh*, who was the father of *O-lo-sz'*, who had two sons, *Du-dan*, and *Fu-ding*. All of them were officers in the Mongol army.

In chap. cxxxii. is also the biography of *Yü-wa-shi*, another Alan, who distinguished himself as captain under the reign of Kubilai. He was sent against the revolted princes in the north-west (Kaidu, &c.), and carried the Mongol arms as far as the country *I-bi-rh Si-bi-rh* (*v. supra*). The father of Yü-wa-shi, by name *Ye-lie ba-du-rh* (Elias bahadur, also a prince, it seems), had surrendered at the same time as Hang-hu-sz'. Others of Yü-wa-shi's descendants are also mentioned.

In chap. cxxiii. we have the biography of *Nie-gu-la* (Nicholas), of the country of *A-su*, who is stated there to have surrendered at the same time as *Ye-li-ya A-su* (probably the afore-mentioned Elias is meant) and others, thirty-eight in all. Nie-gu-lu was with the emperor Mangu when he waged war with the Sung in China. His son *A-tʻa-chʻi* distinguished himself at the siege of Siang yang fu and in the expedition against the revolted prince *No-yen*. In the reign of the emperor Jen tsung (1312–21) A-tʻa-chʻi was still active. His son *Kiao-hua* held a high office at court.

In the same chapter we find also the biography of the *A-su* prince *A-rh-sz'-lan*. It is stated there that his city was besieged by Mangu, when A-rh-sz'-lan together with his son *A-san-djen* repaired to the camp of that prince and offered his submission. The Mongol prince granted to A-rh-sz'-lan a patent to rule his people, but enrolled half of his troops in his own life-guard, whilst the other half was left to him to protect his dominions. *A-san-djen* remained with Mangu, but was subsequently killed when fighting against the revolted troops of *She-rh-kʻo*.[849] Mangu ordered his body to be embalmed and sent back to his native country. When A-rh-sz'-lan had been informed of the death of his son, he said: "My eldest son is cut off in early life, before he could be of service to the emperor. There is my second son, *Nie-gu-lai* (Nicholas), whom I offer to your Majesty." Nie-gu-lai was a valiant warrior; he took part in Wu-liang-ho-dai's expedition to *Ha-la-djang* (the Karadjang of Rashid,—Yün nan). He left a son *Hu-rh-du-da*, who by order of the emperor Kubilai accompanied *Bu-lo no-yen* when he was despatched to the country of *Ha-rh-ma-mou*.[850] Hu-rh-du-da had a son *Hu-du tʻie-mu-rh*. All these served in the emperor's life-guard.

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[849] It is not clear whether this is the name of a man or a country.

[850] The character *mou* in this name may be a misprint for a similarly-looking character, *sz'*, and then the name *Ha-rh-ma-sz'* is perhaps intended for Hormuz.

In chap. cxxxii. we meet with the names of three *A-su* (Alans) who are stated to have surrendered when Mangu invaded their country, viz., *Ba-du-rh* and his brothers *U-tsa-rh-bu-han* and *Ma-tʻa-rh-sha.* The latter was in the avant-guard of the Mongols when the city of *Mai-kʻo-sz'* was stormed (see Part II.).

In chap. cxxxv. is the biography of *Kʻou-rh-ghi* (George ?), a native of *A-su,* who in the reign of Kubilai served in the Mongol army. His father, *Fu-de-lai-sz',* had been in the life-guard of the Emperor Mangu. Kʻou-rh-ghi's son was called *Di-mi-di-rh* (Demetrius).

In the same chapter are the biographies of two other Alans: *Shi-la ba-du-rh* and *Chʻe-li,* both in Kubilai's army. The father of the latter, *Bie-ghi-ba,* had accompanied the emperor Mangu in his expedition against the Sung.

We may conclude from some of the names of these Alans mentioned in the Yüan history that they were Christians. This supposition is confirmed by the testimonies of Mas'udi, Abulfeda, Rubruck, and M. Polo.

The Yüan chʻao pi shi terms the Alans *Asut* (plural form of Asu). See i. 305.

SA-RH-KO-SZ' = CIRCASSIA.

There can be no doubt that this name, appearing on the ancient map south-east of *A-lan A-sz',* is intended for the country of the *Circassians,* or *Cherkess,* as they are termed by Rashid-eddin (Berezin, i. 2). Abulfeda, ii. 2, writes the name *Djerkes.* In the ancient Russian annals the *Cherkassy* are repeatedly mentioned. According to Klaproth ("Asia Polyglotta") the Cherkesses dwelt in ancient times in the western part of the Caucasus, and also in the Crimea. Pl. Carpini speaks repeatedly of a people *Kerkis,* but there is some confusion in his narrative as to the application of this name. On pp. 678, 679, he seems to mean by Kerkis the Circassians; for in recording the

Mongol conquests in the west he states: "Chirpodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday-can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra *Kergis,* quos in bello devicit. . . . Quibus devictis, ad meridiem ivit contra Armenos." But on p. 659, where the same name again appears, the *Kirghizes* seem to be meant: "Chingis can . . . ivit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram *Kergis* quos bello non vicit." On p. 708, where Carpini enumerates, in a certain geographical order, the nations subdued by the Mongols, he associates the *Kergis* with the *Bascart* (Bashkirs), Sarracens, &c., not with the Alani, Georgiani, and mentions the *Circasi* together with the *Rutheni.*

Rubruck writes (252; the traveller was then somewhere between the Don and the Volga): "Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos (Caucasus), in quibus habitant, in lateribus versus solitudinem illam, *Cherkis* et Alani, sive Aas, &c."

HUA-LA-TSZ'-MU=KHORAZM.

This name is marked on the ancient map north-west of *Kath* (see above), and is intended for *Khorazm* (or *Khovarezm*); it is a name of very ancient date and was applied to the country of the Lower Oxus, south and south-west of lake Khorazm or Aral. The present khanate of Khiva covers for the greater part ancient Khorazm. The name appears already in the Zendavesta, the sacred writings of the Parsees, and in the cuneiform inscriptions on the ancient monuments of Persepolis. Lerch, in his learned article, "Historical and Geographical Account of Khiva," 1873, states that *Kharizm* in Old Persian means "low land." *Qarasmiah* is mentioned by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.

We possess detailed accounts of Khorazm by the Arab geographers Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, in the second half of the tenth century. The capital of the country then was *Kath,* on the northern bank of the Djihun (see above). This city is already mentioned in the Shahnameh, iii. 77, reign of Kai Khosru (Cyrus). After Kath the most important city of Khorazm was, according to Ibn Haukal, *Djordjanieh*, which is the Arabic name for *Urghendj* (see note 36). Among the other cities enumerated there we find also *Khiva*, which is now-a-days the capital of the khanate of the same name.

When Chinghiz invaded Western Asia, the Sultan of Khorazm was a powerful sovereign, ruling also over Transoxiana and Iran. The capital of Khorazm then was *Urghendj*, which, according to d'Ohsson (i. 265), was the Mongol appellation of the city. Edrisi, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, already notices *Djordjania* (or Urghendj) as the capital of Khorazm, and states (ii. 189) that it was situated on both banks of the Djihun, *i.e.*, on the ancient channel of the Oxus; for in our days *Kunia Urghendj* or Ancient Urghendj is far west of the Oxus.

The Mongols took Urghendj in 1221, and destroyed the city, but it must have recovered to some considerable extent in the next hundred years, according to the accounts given by Pegolotti and Ibn Batuta. Pegolotti in his itinerary (first half of the fourteenth century) calls it *Organci* (Yule's "Cathay," 294). A Franciscan missionary, in a letter dated Armalec, 1338, speaks of *Urganth*, visited by him, as of a city at the extremity of the empire of the Tartars and the Persians (*l. c.* 234). It is the *Urghanj* of Marignolli, who visited the place in 1339 (*l. c.* 321). In 1388 Urghendj was destroyed by Timur, but was subsequently rebuilt (Zafernameh, iii. 1).

Haithon, in his account of Asiatic kingdoms in the thirteenth century (p. 128), states that the kingdom of *Corasm* stretches to the east about a hundred days' journey, and westward as far as the sea *Chaspis*. On the north it is bounded by the kingdom of *Comania*, and on the south it borders on *Turkestan*. The country has many cities. The capital is called *Corasm*.

The Chinese knew Khorazm as early as the seventh century. In the T'ang history, in the section treating of foreign countries, we find the following account of *Ho-li-si-mi,* called also *Hua-sin* and *Kuo-li:*—This country is situated on the river *Wu-hu* (Oxus; see note 828). On the south-west it is bounded by *Po-sz'* (Persia); to the north-west it extends as far as the *K'o-sa,*[851] who belong to the stock of the *T'u-küe* (Turks). In this country (of Khorazm), in the time of the Han dynasty, was the city of *Ao-kien.*[852] The ruler of the Ho-li-si-mi resides in *Tsi-to-pei-che.* Among the *hu* (people of Western Asia) this is the only country where carts drawn by oxen are found. The merchants travel in these carts to other countries. Several embassies proceeding in the eighth century from Ho-li-si-mi to the Chinese court are recorded.

The Chinese Buddhist monk Hüan ts'ang, in his peregrinations from China to India in about 630, passed also through Khorazm. He writes the name *Ho-li-si-mi-kia,* and states that this kingdom is situated on both banks of the river *Fo-tsu* (Wakhsh or Oxus; see note 828), extending from north to south 500, and from east to west 20 or 30 *li.*[853]

In the Yüan shi the name of Khorasm appears only in the list of the Si pei ti. The capture of Urghendj by the Mongols is mentioned in the annals, and the name is spelt there *Yü-lung-ghie-ch'i.* The Yüan chao pi shi writes it *Urungechi.*

Ye-lü ch'u-ts'ai states (see i. 22): "West of *P'u-hua* (Bokhara) there is a great river flowing westward, which enters a sea. West of this river is the city of *U-li-ghien,* where the mother of the *So-li-t'an* is living" (*Turkan khatun,* the mother of Mohammed of Khorazm).

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[851] In the article *Fo-lin* (Byzantine empire), in the same T'ang shu, it is said that this kingdom is opposite the country of *K'o-sa.* It seems the *Khazars* are meant.

[852] In the history of the Anterior Han, art. *K'ang-kü* (Samarkand), *Ao-kien* is mentioned among the small kingdoms dependent on Samarkand, distant about 1400 *li* from the latter place.

[853] Evidently the Chinese author takes into consideration only the cultivated land in the valley of the Oxus. Even now the khanate of Khiva consists properly only of the valley of the Amu daria, the rest being deserts.

SAI-LAN=SAIRAM.

Sairam[854] is still the name of a little town in Russian Turkestan, north-east of Tashkend, and about 6½ English miles east of Chimkend. This place was formerly situated on the great highway leading from Almalik (Kuldja) to Samarkand. Now-a-days, the Russian post-road from Kuldja to Samarkand *via* Chimkend and Tashkend leaves Sairam to the east. Sairam is not mentioned by the early Arabic geographers. Lerch, in his "Archæol. Journey to Turkestan," considers it as ascertained that the place *Isfidjab,* which, according to Ibn Haukal, was situated beyond the Sihun on the Turkestan road, is represented by Sairam of later centuries. This later name does not appear in Abulfeda, but the Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) mentions Sairam among the cities of Turkestan.

The Mohammedan authors do not mention Sairam among the cities taken by Chinghiz, although this name appears in the Chinese annals in connection with the Mongol invasion of Turkestan, and is repeatedly noticed in the itineraries of Chinese travellers to the west in the Mongol period (see i. 74, 130). The name is written *Sai-lan* there, as on the ancient map.

Rashid (Berezin, i. 2) mentions *Talas* and *Sairam* among the countries and places inhabited from ancient times by Turkish tribes. Farther on (ibid. 13) the same place apparently is called *Kary Sairam.* Rashid states there that *Talas* and *Kary Sairam* are not far from the country where Abuldja khan (ancestor of the famous Oghuz khan, the progenitor of all the Turk tribes) was in the habit of encamping in winter-time. He adds that Kary Sairam is an ancient and very large city, with forty gates. To cross it takes a whole day. In the days of Rashid this city was inhabited by Turk Mussulmans, and was subject to Kaidu. Ibid., p. 17, we read again that Oghuz khan, after obtaining the supremacy over his relatives who had attacked him, ruled over the whole country stretching from *Telash* and *Syrim* (Talas and Sairam) to *Bokhara*.

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[854] I may observe that there is in Central Asia a lake and a city which on our European maps bear the same name. The lake *Sairam* lies north-east of Kuldja (see note 167). The city of *Sairam* is situated in Chinese Turkestan, between Kucha and Aksu.

In the Yüan shi the capture of *Sai-lan* by the Mongols is recorded in chap. cli., biography of *Sie-t'a-la-hai*, one of Chinghiz khan's generals.

BA-RH-CH'I-LI-HAN=BARKHALIGHKEND.

With respect to this city, situated, according to Rashid, on the Sihun, and taken in 1219 (or 1220) by Djuchi, see note 676. The Yüan shi calls it *Ba-rh-djen*. It is the *Barchin* of Pl. Carpini and the *Parchin* of king Haithon (see i. 170).

Lerch, *l. c.*, speaks of ancient coins on which the name *Barchin* is found. The exact position of this city cannot be ascertained.

The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) mentions, among the cities of Turkestan, *Djend*, *Bardjend* (not Iarkand, as Quatremère reads), *Otrar*, *Sairam*, &c.

DJAN-DI=DJEND.

This city was situated on the Lower Sihun. Ibn Haukal, quoted by Abulfeda, II. ii. 216, states that it was near Yanghikend (see note 676).

It was near Djend that the troops of Mohammed Khorazm Shah had the first opportunity of fighting with the Mongols, before the main body of Chinghiz' army had arrived in Turkestan. In 1220 Djuchi captured Djend.

Lerch, *l. c.*, places the site of ancient Djend at *Khorkhut*, on the right bank of the Syr daria, about ten English miles north-west of Fort No. 2 (Karmakhchi). Khorkhut is an old Kirghiz cemetery. There is now a station of the Russian post-road from Tashkend to Orenburg.

IV.—COUNTRIES AND PLACES IN THE EMPIRE OF BU-SA-YIN, PERSIA.

BA-MOU=BAMIAN (?).

This name is not found on the ancient map. It appears only in the list of the Si pei ti as a city belonging to Abu Said's empire, or Persia, without further notice. *Ba-mou* may be intended for *Bamian*, a district and important fortress in the Hindukush, taken and destroyed by Chinghiz in 1221. A place of this name still exists, and was visited by Burnes in 1832, and some years ago by Russian travellers.

I may, however, observe that there is also a place called *Bam* south-east of Kerman, which name likewise has some resemblance to Ba-mou, and is also an ancient city mentioned by Ibn Haukal.

T'A-BA-SIN=THABESSAN.

This name also is not marked on the ancient map, but it is noticed in the Si pei ti as a place of Persia. I am inclined to identify it with *Thabessan* or *Thabes*, in Kuhistan. See Barbier de Meynard, "Dictionnaire de la Perse," 388. Thabessan, or, as Abulfeda, II. ii. 189, writes the name, *Tabasaïn*, in Arabic means "the two (cities of) Thabas," for this place is formed by two cities.

FA-YIN=KAÏN (?).

This name also does not appear on the ancient map. It is only mentioned in the Si pei ti as a city of Persia. Perhaps Kaïn is meant, the ancient capital of the mountainous country of Kuhistan. It belonged to the Ismaëlians when Hulagu began the conquest of Persia. D'Ohsson, iii. 158, 175. This city still exists.

BU-SZ'-T'E=BOST.

This name is placed on the ancient map south-west of Ghiznin, and this position agrees well with *Bost,* a city of Seyistan (Sistan) on the river Hilmend.

Bost is a very ancient city; it is the *Asbeste* of the Zendavesta, the *Bis* of Isidore of Charax (first century of our era). See Ritter, "Asia," vi. 64, 120.

Bost is also spoken of by the Mohammedan chroniclers in connection with Chinghiz' expedition to Western Asia (d'Ohsson, i. 195, 298). See also Abulfeda, II. ii. 108: *Bost* in Sidjestan, between Herat and Ghazna, on the river Hindmand.

In the Ts'in cheng lu we read (see i. 293): "In the spring of 1223 Chinghiz moved out with his army and proceeded northward, following the course of the *Sin* river (Sindh, Indus). . . . The third prince reached the city of *Bu-si-sz'-dan,* and asked Chinghiz' permission to attack it; but the emperor recalled his son in view of the hot season commencing." It seems that the Chinese name here represents the combined names of *Bost* and *Sistan.*

In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi the invasion of *Sistan* by Tului, Chinghiz' fourth son, is recorded. Rashid, however, states that Ogotai, the third son of Chinghiz, after destroying Ghazna, asked permission to attack the city of *Sistan;* but Chinghiz objected, owing to the excessive heat, and recalled his son (d'Ohsson, i. 317).

Bost in our days seems to be an unimportant place, generally not marked in our maps of Asia. In the great Russian map of Asia I find the name of a place *Kala Bist,* where the Dori river discharges into the Hilmend. This is probably Bost.

T'A-LI-GAN=TALEKAN.

According to the early Arabic geographers, the name *Talekan* was applied to several cities or districts in Western Asia.

Istakhri, in the tenth century, mentions (p. 94) *Talekan*, a little town above Kazvin (*i.e.*, in the Elburs Mountains), and near the district of *Dilem* (see p. 108). Compare also Abulfeda, II. ii. 168. Barbier de Meynard, *l. c.* 377, quotes the Persian geographer Mostaufi (1330), who states that *Talekan* is a mountainous district east of Kazvin.

Another *Talekan* appears in Istakhri's geography (119, 122), east of Balkh, near Badakhshan, as the capital of Tokharestan. He writes the name also *Taikan.*

The Arabic geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries, quoted in Sprenger's "Post- und Reïserouten des Orientes," distinguish between *Tayiqan* (Taikan), a city of Tokharestan, and *Taliqan*, a city depending on Merv-al-Rud (now Meruchak). On Biruny's (+ 1038) map of Balkh and Tokharestan, No. 5 in Sprenger's maps, *Taliqan* appears west of Balkh, between this city and Merv-al-Rud, and *Tayiqan* east of Balkh.

Edrisi (eleventh century) notices a city, *Talikan,* east of Balkh, in Tokharestan (i. 475), and another of the same name west of Balkh in Khorassan (1468). See also Abulfeda, II. ii. 207, *Taikan* in Tokharestan, and 198, *Talekan* in Khorassan.

Two distinct cities or districts *Talekan* are mentioned in the Persian records of the Mongol conquest of Western Asia. A district Talekan is noticed in the relation of Hulagu's military operations to invest the fortress of Meimundiz in the Elburs Mountain in 1256 (d'Ohsson, iii. 194). Another district of the same name was situated at the time of Chinghiz' invasion in the south-eastern part of the dominions of Khovaṛezm Shah. Rashid reports (d'Ohsson, i. 273, 292, 294) that *Nussretkuh*, a fortress in the mountainous district of *Talekan*, resisted the Mongols for seven months, but was finally taken, when Chinghiz himself arrived in 1221. The Persian historian does not say whether this Talekan was east or west of Balkh. D'Ohsson on his map places it east of Kunduz, in Tokharestan, where a city of this name still exists. According to Wood, who visited it in 1838, it is a poor place. I cannot find on the detailed Russian map a name resembling Talekan between Balkh and Meruchak; but I may observe that on the Chinese mediæval map *T'a-li-gan* is marked between Balkh and Merv, in accordance with the Mohammedan geographers.

M. Polo (i. 160), after twelve days' journey eastward from Balkh, came to a fortified place called *Taican*, which is the still existing Talekan in Tokharestan.

Hüan ts'ang, in about 630, notices a country *Ta-la-kien*, which to the west touches the boundary of *Po-la-sz'*, Persia. From his statements we can conclude that it lay west of Balkh. This is evidently the Talekan in Khorassan of the early Arabic geographers. In book xii. Hüan ts'ang enumerates twelve kingdoms, of which we can identify *An-ta-lo-po* (Anderab), *K'uo-si-to* (Khost), *Huo* (Kunduz), *Ki-li-si-mo* (Kishm), as belonging to the old land of *Tu-ho-lo* (Tokharestan).[855] He does not mention Talekan in Tokharestan.

The Chinese annals (Yüan shi) record the capture of *T'a-li-han* by Chinghiz and his son Tului in 1222.

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[855] *Tokharestan* is a name of very ancient date. The *Tokhari* were known to Strabo, Plinius, and Ptolemy as occupying the land of the Upper Oxus. The Arabic geographers apply the above name to the land between the Upper Oxus and the Hindukush Mountains. Sometimes they include also Badakhshan in this appellation. *Taikan* (Talekan), Khulm, Baglan, Anderab are cities of Tokharestan.

The name of *T'u-huo-lo*, meaning Tokharestan, appears in the Chinese annals first in the fifth century (History of the Northern Wei). In the History of the T'ang we read about this country that it was situated west of the *Ts'ung ling* mountains, south of the river *Wu-hu* (Wakhsh, Oxus). The Chinese of that period identify it with the country *Ta hia* (Da hae) of the time of the Han. In the seventh and eighth centuries the kingdom of T'u-huo-lo repeatedly sent embassies to the Chinese court. Hüan ts'ang mentions frequently the country of *Tu-ho-lo.* He states (book i.): "Passing through the Iron Gates (from the north), we arrive at the country of *Tu-ho-lo.* From north to south it is about 1000 *li* in extent, from east to west 3000 *li.* On the east it is bounded by the *Ts'ung ling* mountains, on the west it touches on *Po-li-sz'* (Persia), on the south are the great Snowy Mountains, on the north the Iron Gates."

BA-LI-HEI = BALKH.

Balkh, in Khorassan, is a very ancient city, frequently mentioned in the ancient historical records of the Persians. It is believed to be the *Bactra* of the early Greek authors. It is known that Alexander the Great conquered Bactriana, which province after him for many centuries was under Greek culture.

Balkh was fearfully treated by Chinghiz. Though the city surrendered without resistance, the whole population was massacred by the Mongols in 1221; and two years later, when Chinghiz again passed through Balkh, he ordered the slaughter of the inhabitants who had meanwhile settled there.

M. Polo (i. 158) says with respect to the "noble and great city of Balc," that it was much greater in former days, before it had been ravaged and destroyed by the Tartars and other nations. The traveller saw many ruins there. He was told by the people that it was here that Alexander took to wife the daughter of Darius. Polo further states that here is the end of the empire of the Tartar Lord of the Levant (Ilkhan of Persia). And this city is also the limit of Persia in the direction between east and north-east.

This statement is in accordance with our ancient map. It seems, however, that the frontier between Persia and the Middle Empire has often changed. D'Ohsson (iv. 268) states, after the Mohammedan historians, that, in 1300, Dua, khan of the Middle Empire, invested his son Kutlug Shah with Ghaznin, Sidjistan, Balkh, Badakhshan, and Merv. Thus Balkh and Merv, assigned on our ancient map to Persia, seem then to have belonged to the Middle Empire.

Balkh was probably known to the Chinese at an early date; it is difficult, however, to venture any identification upon the vague descriptions of the countries of Western Asia as found in the histories of the Han, Wei, &c.

A. Rémusat identifies the kingdom of *Ta hia,* reached by the Chinese general Chang K'ien in about 128 B.C., with Bactriana. Here in Ta hia, Chang K'ien first heard of India, which country lay some thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta hia.

Hüan ts'ang, in his account of western countries, mentions a kingdom *Fo-ho-la* (probably erroneous Chinese characters), bounded on the north by the river *Fo-tsu* (Oxus; see note 828). Vivien de St. Martin identifies Fo-ho-lo with Balkh. I may observe that the character *fo* was anciently pronounced *bo.*

In the Yüan shi Balkh is repeatedly noticed, and the name is differently written there. In the annals, *s. a.* 1221, the capture of *Ban-le-ho* by Chinghiz is recorded. In Subutai's biography the name is written *Bi-li-han;* in Ho-sze-mai-li's biography, Yüan shi (chap. cxx.), *A-la-hei.* In the biography of Ch'a-han, Yüan shi (chap. cxxxvii.), it is stated that he was a native of *Ban-le-ho,* a city of the *Si yü* (Western Asia).

Ch'ang Ch'un, on his way from Samarkand to the Hindukush, passed through the city of *Ban-li,* by which name again Balkh is meant. Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai designates Balkh by the single character *Ban.* (See i. 23, 93.)

NAI-SHA-BU-RH = NISHABUR.

This name is found in the list of the Si pei ti, but not on the ancient map. Evidently *Nishabur,* or *Naisabur,* as Abulfeda writes the name, the ancient capital of Khorassan is meant; for Nishabur is repeatedly mentioned under nearly the same name in the Yüan shi, in connection with the Mongol invasion of Persia. In the annals, *s. a.* 1221, the name of Nishabur is rendered by *Ni-ch'a-wu-rh*[856] (see Part II.); in the biography of the Uigur prince Ba-rh-chu (see Uigurs) by *Ni-sha-bu-li;* and in the biography of Ho-sze-mai-li, Yüan shi (chap. cxx.), by *Ni-sha-bu-rh.*

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[856] Abulfeda (II. ii. 189) says that the Persian name of the city is *Nishawur.*

According to the Mohammedan historians, Nishabur was taken and destroyed by the Mongols in April 1221.

Nishabur is an ancient city. It is the *Nisæa* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the *Niçaia* of the Zendavesta (Ritter, "Asien," vi.*a*. 56). The Arabic and Persian authors, however, record that Nishabur was founded by King *Shapor* (Sapor II., 310–380) of the Sassanian dynasty, and that the name is derived from its founder.

SA-LA-HA-SI=SARAKHS.

This name also is only found in the Si pei ti, not on the map. It seems *Sarakhs* is meant, a city of Khorassan mentioned by the early Arab geographers. Its foundation is attributed to the early kings of Persia. A city of this name still exists south-west of Merv, on the river Herirud. This place is mentioned in the Mohammedan relations of Chinghiz' expedition to Western Asia (d'Ohsson, i. 281). The capture of a place *Si-la-sz'* by the Mongols is recorded in the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1221, where the name appears together with Merv and Maruchak, and probably is intended for Sarakhs.[857]

BA-WA-RH-DI=BAVERD.

Ba-wa-rh-di is also missing from the ancient map. The list of the Si pei ti places it together with Merv and Sarakhs. Probably *Baverd* or *Abiverd* is meant, a city of Khorassan mentioned by the ancient Arabic and Persian geographers. In map No. 4, Khorassan, in Sprenger's "Post- und Reiserouten des Orientes," according to Biruny and the Atwal, *Abiverd* is placed north-west of Sarakhs, between this city and *Nasa*. But d'Ohsson on his map locates *Nessa* between Serakhs and Abiverd. Abiverd is not marked on the detailed Russian map. On Petermann's map of Iran and Turan, 1879, I find Abiverd about sixty-two English miles east of Askhabad, on the border of the desert. Petermann draws probably from some old map partly based upon Mohammedan information.

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[857] Ancient Sarakhs (*i.e.*, the ruins), on the eastern bank of the Herirud, now belongs to Russia, whilst the fortress called New Sarakhs on the opposite bank stands on Persian ground.

I have not met with the name of Baverd or Abiverd in d'Ohsson's "History of the Mongols;" but it seems that in the Yüan shi, in chap. cxxiii., this name appears in the biography of *A-la-wa-rh-sz'*, where we read that he was a *Hui-hu* (Mohammedan) from *Ba-wa-rh*, a commander of a thousand in his country. When Chinghiz' army arrived at Ba-wa-rh, A-la-wa-rh-sz' surrendered and subsequently entered the Mongol service.

Compare about Abiverd, Abulfeda, II. ii. 185, 186; Barbier de M., *l. c.* 13, 563 (*sub* Nessa). The name of *Baverd,* written also *Abiverd,* occurs frequently in the Zafernameh; conquest of Khorassan by Timur, 1382–92, ii. 37, 48; iii. 18, &c. Clavijo, on his way from Northern Persia to Samarkand and back in 1404, passed through Baverd. The name is misspelt in the itinerary: *Buela* and *Baubartel* (110, 181). Baverd was visited in 1566 by the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali ("Journ. Asiatique," ix.).

MA-LI-WU=MARU OR MERV.

Ma-li-wu is marked on the ancient map south of Bokhara, and evidently denotes Maru (Meru) or *Merv,* one of the four capitals (Merv, Herat, Nishabur, Balkh) of Khorassan in the Middle Ages (d'Ohsson, i. 245). *Maru* is one of the places of abundance of the Zendavesta (Ritter, *l. c.* vi.*a.* 52). The province *Margiana,* with the city of Antiochia of Isidore of Charax, is the same as Merv (*ibid.* 120).

The early Arab geographers write *Maru, Meru,* or *Marv,* and distinguish two cities of this name, one of which is called *Meru Shahidjan,* the other *Meru-al-Rud.* Both are situated on the river *Meru-rud,* called also *Murghab* (Istakhri, 116, 118; Abulfeda, II. ii. 195, 196).

According to Istakhri, it was near Meru Shahidjan that Yezdejerd, the last king of the Sassanian kingdom, was slain, in a mill (A.D. 652). This event is also reported in the Shahnameh.

During Chinghiz' expedition to Western Asia, Merv was plundered several times by the Mongols, as the Persian historians record. They mean probably Merv Shahidjan, which was the more important of the two cities; whilst *Meruchak* in the same relation (d'Ohsson, i. 280) is Merv-al-Rud. In the Yüan shi mention is made of both cities. It is stated there that in 1221 T'o-lei took the cities of *Ma-lu-ch'a-ye-k'o*, *Ma-lu*, and *Si-la-sz'*. The first name is evidently intended for *Meruchak*. This latter place is identified by Ritter (*l. c.* 229) with Merv-al-Rud. Meruchak still exists on the river Murghab, about 110 English miles south-east of Merv.

DI-HI-SZ'-DAN=DIHISTAN.

Dehistan is still the name of the country bordering on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrek river. Hammer derives the name from the *Da'oi* of Herodotus, and the *Daai*, a people of Hyrcania, according to Strabo.

Istakhri (103) states that *Dehistan* is a city situated on a neck of land, fifty parasangs from *Abeskun* (see note 669). Abulfeda, II. ii. 181, writes the name *Dihistan*. According to some authors he quotes, Dihistan was also the name of a whole province in the above-stated region.

The Tarikh Djihankushai spells the name *Dihistan* (d'Ohsson, i. 259). Turkan Khatun, the mother of Mohammed Shah, proceeded from Urghendj to Mazanderan through *Dihistan*. The same name appears once more in d'Ohsson's translation from the Persian historians; in iv. 685 we read that Hassan and Talish, the sons of Choban, a revolted general of Abu Said, in 1327 fled from Mazanderan through Dihistan to Khovarezm.

On the Catalan map *Deystam* is marked on the south-eastern corner of the Sea of Baku (Caspian).

DJU-LI-DJANG=DJURDJAN.

Djurdjan or *Gurgan* in the Middle Ages was a famous city situated on the river *Guran* or *Giurghen*, which discharges into the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

It is believed that Djurdjan is the *Vehrkana* of the Zendavesta, and the *Hyrkania* of the ancient Greek and Roman writers. See Ritter, "Asia," vi.*a.* 61.

Gurgan is mentioned in the early history of Persia (Shahnameh, i. 393) together with *Dehistan.* All the early Arab geographers speak of *Gurgan* or *Djurdjan.* The latter, according to Yakut, is the Arabic pronunciation (Barbier d. M., *l. c.* 481).

According to Mas'udi, in the tenth century, the trade of Russia with Balkh, Rayi, Bagdad passed through Djurdjan (Abulfeda, lix.).

After Timur had subdued Mazanderan in 1392, he ordered the magnificent palace of Shasman to be built near Djurdjan (Zafernameh, iii. 20).

The ruins of ancient Djurdjan are still to be seen. Fraser in 1822 visited the Gurgan river, and saw from a distance a remarkable old tower belonging to Djurdjan (Ritter, *l. c.* vi.*a.* 358). In 1849 Bode published a description of these ruins (Dorn's "Caspia," 53, 54).

T'A-MI-SHE=THAMISEH.

This name is placed on the map between Djurdjan and Simnan (see the next), and I have little doubt *Thamiseh* or *Tamis* is intended, a city of Tabaristan, according to the early Arab geographers. Istakhri, 98; Sprenger's "Postrouten;" Abulfeda, II. ii. 178. Yakut (Barbier de M., 394) states that this place was situated in the plain of Tabari, sixteen farsakhs from Sariah (see farther on), on the boundary between Tabaristan and Khorassan. The Persians call it also *Nemiseh.*

SI-MU-NIANG=SIMNAN.

Istakhri states (98) that *Simnan* is a city in the district of Komesh; Abulfeda (II. ii. 178) calls it the capital of Kumess; other geographers (Yakut) consider Dameghan to be the capital of Kumess. The city of Simnan still exists. It lies south-west of Dameghan, on the great highway from Khorassan to Teheran (Rayi).

The Mohammedan historians of the Mongol period frequently mention Simnan. See d'Ohsson, i. 248, iii. 194, iv. 177, 675.

SA-LI-YA=SARIA OR SARI.

Sari is still the name of a city in the Persian province of Mazanderan. It is an ancient city, mentioned already in the early history of Persia. See Shahnameh, i. 297, where *Sari* is coupled with *Amol* (see the next). The Arab geographers notice it among the cities of Tabaristan. Istakhri (100) writes the name *Sarie;* Biruny and the Atwal, *Saria* (Sprenger, *l. c.*); Abulfeda, II. ii. 178, *Sariyah*. Thus the spelling *Sa-li-ya* on our map is justified.

Ritter, "Asien," vi.*a*. 478, 529, identifies Sari with the *Sauloe* of Isidore of Charax (first century).

In the history of the T'ang dynasty *Sari* is mentioned as a city of Tabaristan in the eighth century or earlier. We read there, at the end of the article *Po-sz'* (Persia), of a country *T'o-po-sz'-tan*, bounded on three sides by mountains, and on the north by a little sea (the Caspian). The ruler of this kingdom had his residence in *So-li*.[858] From ancient times these princes were commanders-in-chief of the Persian eastern army. When Persia was destroyed by the *Ta-shi* (Arabs), T'o-po-sze-tan refused to surrender. A prince of this country named *Hu-lu-han* in 746 sent an envoy to the Chinese court. The Chinese emperor granted him a title. Eight years later Hu-lu-han's son, *Tze-hui-lo*, entered the Chinese service. The kingdom of T'o-po-sz'-tan was finally destroyed by the Black-coated *Ta-shi* (Arabs).[859]

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[858] The Chinese text has Po-li; but as the character *po* is very easily confounded with the character *so*, pronounced *sa* in ancient times, I feel no hesitation in reading *Sa-li* or Sari.

A-MU-LI=AMOL.

Amol is correctly placed on the map west of Sari. It is still the name of a city in Mazanderan, on the river Harhaz, about eight English miles distant from the Caspian Sea.

Amol is an ancient city mentioned in the Shahnameh, and by the early Arab geographers as the capital of Tabaristan. Ibn Haukal mentions it as an important place of trade for silk. It was a renowned emporium in the time of Harun al Rashid. Dorn, in his "Caspia," 20, translates a passage from a history of Tabristan written in 1216, in which it is said that Amol is the emporium for the merchandise brought (by sea) from Bulgar and Saksin (see note 720).

In 1220 Amol was sacked by the Mongol troops under the command of Chebe, sent in pursuit of Mohammed Shah (d'Ohsson, i. 252).

HU-WA-RH=KHOVAR.

Hu-wa-rh is marked on the map south of Sari, and is the *Khovar* of the Mohammedan authors. According to Ritter, *l. c.* 118, Khovar is the Choarene of Isidore of Charax, the Choara of Pliny, near the Caspiæ portæ. Istakhri (99) says that Khovar is a small city situated on a river which runs down from the *Denbavend*. Abulfeda states (II. ii. 171) that it is a city between Simnan and Rayi, and depending on the latter. The Mohammedan authors translated by d'Ohsson frequently mention Khovar (iii. 193, iv. 177, 678).

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[859] See my pamphlet "On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs," &c., p. 9.

The city of Khovar cannot be traced now-a-days, but the name has survived in that of a defile and a plain south-east of the present Teheran (which lies near the ruins of Rayi). This defile answers to the *Portæ Caspiæ* of Pliny and the *Pylæ Caspiæ* of Arrian. It leads through a southern spur of the Elburs chain, which projects into the plain country, separating the fertile plain of Veramin (situated towards Teheran) from that of *Khavar* or *Khar.* I can speak of this region from personal observation.

DI-LIEN=DILEM.

Dilem is a name generally applied to the mountainous part of the Persian province of Ghilan; but some ancient geographers refer this appellation to the whole of the present Ghilan. Thus Istakhri (97) states that Dilem consists of a mountainous part and a plain extending along the Caspian Sea. The latter part is called Ghilan. Mokadassi in the tenth century (see Sprenger, *l. c.*) includes also Tabarestan, Gurgan, Kumess, and even Khozar beyond the Caspian in the general name Dailem. Abulfeda, II. ii. 172, distinguishes between Dilem and Ghilan, and applies the former name only to the mountainous country south of Ghilan. The traveller who crosses the Elburs chain on his way from Kazvin to Resht has to pass through Dilem.

In the tenth century the kings of Dilem conquered a great part of Persia. Their dynasty is known in history under the name of *Dilemits* or *Buyids.* They ruled from A.D. 934 to 1056.

When the Mongols first invaded Persia, Dilem was in possession of the Ismaelians, who had there several strong castles, *Alamut, Lembasser, Meimundiz,* and others. (d'Ohsson, iii. 157–160). When Hulagu went, in 1256, to attack Alamut, he passed by the way of *Shaherek,* the ancient residence of the kings of Dilem (*l. c.* 197).

Oldjaitu, khan of Persia, in 1307 was obliged to undertake an expedition against the people of Dilem, who refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the khan (*l. c.* iv. 188).

A-LA-MU-T'E=ALAMUT.

The castle of *Alamut* was one of the strongest among the Ismaelian mountain castles in Persia in the thirteenth century. It was built in 860 by a prince of Dilem, on an inaccessible rock in the Elburs Mountains. The water of the river *Bahir* had been conducted to this rock, and surrounded it partly. In 1090, Hassan, chief of the Ismaelians, made himself master of this castle, which belonged to the Seldjuk Sultan Melik Shah, who was then reigning over Persia. Alamut became the residence of the Ismaelian chiefs. This chief used to be called by the Crusaders "the Old Man of the Mountain," and thus he is also termed by M. Polo, i. 145.

Alamut was taken by Hulagu, December 20, 1256. See d'Ohsson, iii. 199, 157. Mohammed of Nessa states that Kazvin is the nearest city to Alamut. The name means "Eagle's nest."

Colonel Monteith, who in 1832 visited the ancient country of the Assassins or Ismaelians, has rediscovered Mount *Alamut*, north-east of Kazvin; the ruins of the castle are still to be seen there. The river Shah rud takes its rise near Mount Alamut (Ritter, *l. c.* 592).

LAN-BA-SA-RH=LEMBESSER.

Lembesser or *Lemsher* was the name of another castle of the Ismaelians, also situated in Dilem, and in the district of *Rudbar*,[860] not far from Alamut, according to Quatremère ("Mongols," 143, note). But the exact position of it has not been ascertained. Lembesser was taken by the Mongols in January 1257, it seems. See d'Ohsson, iii. 160, 164, 191, 192, 200.

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[860] The name of the ancient district of *Rudbar*, frequently mentioned in the Persian relations of Hulagu's expedition against the Ismaelians (d'Ohsson, iii. 158, 197, &c.), occurs much earlier. Istakhri, 97, states that *Rudvar* is the residence of the kings of Dilem. See also Sprenger, *l. c.*, map No. 6, Ghilan and Tabarestan: *Rudzabar*, capital of Daylem. *Rud-*

The positions of Alamut and Lembesser, as given on the ancient map, are not correct.

KʻO-DSI-YÜN=KAZVIN.

The well-known city of Kazvin, on the great highway from Teheran (near ancient *Rayi*) to Tabriz, south of the Elburs chain. It is said to have been founded by the Sassanian king, Sapor II., 310–380. (Barbier de M., *l. c.* 441.)

bar is still the name of a large village, or rather several villages, in the Sefidrud valley, in the Elburs, on the road from Kazvin to Resht.

The Persian historians enumerate only five of the numerous mountain castles of the Ismaelians in Kuhistan and in the Elburs Mountains, viz., *Alamut*, *Lembesser*, *Meimundiz*, *Lal*, and *Ghirdkuh.* The first four of these were in Dilem, and I understand in the district of Rudbar, which, as d'Ohsson states (iii. 158), was " hérissé de châteaux." The exact site of Lembesser and Meimundiz has not been ascertained. The latter place, commanded by Rokn-eddin, the chief of the Ismaelians, himself surrendered, November 9, 1256 (*l. c.* 193–196). *Lal* (*l. c.* 192) is still the name of a village in the Elburs Mountain, north-east of Rudbar (see Buhse's map of Northern Persia, appended to his Botanical Exploration of these regions, 1860).

As to *Ghirdkuh* or *Kerdch-kuh* (Round Mountain), d'Ohsson is mistaken in noticing it repeatedly (*l. c.* 189, 190, 192) as a mountain castle of the Ismaelians in Kuhistan (south-west of Herat). Ghirdkuh was in the district of Kumes, three parasangs west of *Damcghan*, as Quatremère states ("Mongols," 278, note) on the authority of Mohammedan authors. This castle opposed a strong resistance to the Mongols. When Hulagu, in 1256, entered Persia, the Mongol general Kitubuka had been besieging Ghirdkuh for two years, but in vain (d'Ohsson, *l. c.* 189). According to Rashid (Quatremère, *l. c.*), this castle surrendered only in 1270.

Ghirdkuh is probably the *Tigado* in Haithon's "Account of Asiatic Kingdoms," 181, of which he thus speaks : "The Assassins had an impregnable castle called *Tigado*, which was furnished with all necessaries, and was so strong that it had no fear of attack on any side. Howbeit, Halcon (Hulagu) commanded a certain captain of his that he should take 10,000 Tartars who had been left in garrison in Persia, and with them lay siege to the said castle, and not leave it till he had taken it. Wherefore the said Tartars continued besieging it for twenty-seven years, winter and summer, Kazvin was taken by the Mongols (Subutai and Chebe) in 1221, and the inhabitants were massacred (d'Ohsson, i. 325). Hulagu, in 1256 and 1257, when attacking the castles of the Ismaelians in Dilem, had his head-quarters in Kazvin (*l. c.* iii. 200). Ghazan Khan died near Kazvin in 1304 (*l. c.* iv. 349).

King Haithon, the traveller, terms this city *Khezovin.* M. Polo (i. 84) calls *Casvin* one of the eight kingdoms of Persia.

SA-WA=SAVA.

Sava, according to Yakut (Barbier de M., *l. c.* 298), a city between Rayi and Hamadan. Ibn Haukal, quoted in Abulfeda, II. ii. 168, states that it lies west of Rayi, and

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without being able to take it. At last the Assassins surrendered from sheer want of clothing, but not of victuals or other necessaries."

Ghirdkuh is also mentioned by the Chinese authors; but they record its capture by the Mongols, it seems, too early, or confound this castle with Meimundiz. Thus in the biography of the Mongol general Kuo K'an, it is reported that in 1256 he arrived at the fortress *Ki-du-bu,* situated on the top of the mount *Dan-han,* and accessible only by suspended ladders, which were guarded by the most valiant troops of the *Mu-nai-hi* (Mulahida or Assassins). Kuo K'an invested the place, but it could not be taken. It was then battered by means of catapults, when the commandant *Bu-djo-na-shi-rh* (Khodja Nasser-eddin; see note 356) surrendered. For further details see i. 134. In the narrative of Ch'ang Te, who was in Persia in 1259, we read: "The realm of the Mu-nai-hi had 360 mountain fortresses, all which had been reduced. There was, however, west of *Dan-han,* a mountain fortress *K'i-du-bu-gu* on a very steep rock, which could not be reached either by arrows or by stones (thrown by catapults). The rock was so steep that when one looked upwards his cap fell off." After this the author gives some details regarding the capture of this fortress by the Mongols (see i. 133). In the annals of the Yüan shi, the siege of Ghirdkuh is also reported, and *s. a.* 1252. The name is written there quite correctly *Ghi-rh-du-k'ie.* I have little doubt that in the above-quoted Chinese statement about K'i-du-bu-gu being situated west of *Dan-han,* the latter name denotes *Dameghan.*

By the fortress of *Shirdekuh* near Damghan, mentioned in the Zafer-nameh, *s. a.* 1384 (II. chap. xlviii.), it seems Ghirdkuh is to be understood.

The above-mentioned map, appended to Buhse's "Travels in Northern Persia," is the only European map showing the site of Ghirdkuh, north-west of Damghan. Buhse evidently visited the place, but its name does not appear in the text.

south of Talakan (which was near Kazvin). Sava was destroyed by the Mongols in 1224 (d'Ohsson, i. 349).

Sava is the city of *Saba* in Persia, from which, as M. Polo believes (i. 79, 82), the Three Magi set out when they went to worship Jesus Christ.

The city of Sava still exists, fifty miles south-west of Teheran. It is described by Consul Abbot, who visited it in 1849.

KO-SHANG=KASHAN.

Kashan, north of Isfahan, is an ancient city, repeatedly mentioned in the early history of Persia (see Shahnameh, iii. 117, 141), and by all the Arab geographers.

Kashan was for the first time plundered by the Mongols in 1224. D'Ohsson, i. 349, states that in the beginning of 1224 a Mongol detachment proceeded from Khorassan to *Rayi*, plundered and destroyed this city, and then attacked *Save* (Sava), *Kum*, and *Kashan*, which cities suffered the same fate.

Odoric calls *Cassan*, which he passed through in about 1320, a royal city of great repute, the city of the Three Magi. But the Tartars had to a great extent destroyed it.

I-SZ'-FA-HANG=ISFAHAN.

All the Mohammedan geographers agree that Isfahan is a very ancient city. Kaikobad, the founder of the second Persian dynasty (Kayanides), is reported to have established his residence in Isfahan; but the residence of the kings of Persia was subsequently transferred in turn to Susa, Persepolis, and Madain. When the Seldjuk dynasty was ruling over Iran in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Isfahan again became, for a time at least, the capital. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Iran was conquered by the Sultan of Khorazm. When the Mongols first invaded Iran, they did not advance as far as Isfahan; nor when Hulagu subdued the whole of Persia, did this city share the common fate of the other cities. At least d'Ohsson does not mention Isfahan in connection with the Mongol invasion of Persia.

In the annals of the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1229, reign of Ogotai, it is recorded that the chief of the city of *I-sz'-ba-la-na* in the *Si yü* (Western Asia) surrendered. The Ts'in cheng lu states, under the same year, that the chief of the city of *I-sz'-ba-la-na* sent an envoy with tribute to the Mongol court. Perhaps Isfahan is meant here. In d'Ohsson, ii. 92, we read (after Rashid) that the brother of the prince of Fars arrived at the court of Ogotai with valuable presents.

A-BA-HA-RH=ABHAR.

Abhar is still the name of a city and a river west-south-west of Kazvin. Istakhri (100) places it between Kazvin and Zendjan, as do also Ibn Khurdadbeh and Abulfeda (II. ii. 166). This city is frequently mentioned by the Mohammedan authors of the Mongol period (d'Ohsson, iii. 49; iv. 8, 566, 706, 734). D'Ohsson spells the name *Ebher*.

It seems that in the days of the Mongols the great highway from Rayi (near present Teheran) to Tabriz passed through Abhar. The stations west of Dameghan in Haithon's itinerary when returning from Mongolia are: *Hreï, Khezovin, Avakhr* (Abhar). As I know from personal observation, Abhar lies a little south of the present post-road between Kazvin and Zendjan (resp. Teheran-Tabriz), which passes directly from Kazvin to Sain kala.[861]

SUN-DAN-NI-YA=SULTANIAH.

Sultaniah was the name given to the city founded in 1305 in Media, between Kazvin and Zendjan, by

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[861] Chardin, who proceeded from Tabriz *viâ* Kazvin to Isfahan about 225 years ago, passed by the ancient road from Sultanieh to Sancala, and then through the little town of *Ebher* to Kazvin (Chardin, "Voy. en Perse," ii. 383).

Oldjaitu, the great-grandson of Hulagu. For further details see d'Ohsson, iv. 485. Oldjaitu established his residence here, and his successor, Abu Said, resided also in Sultaniah. Thus at the time our mediæval map was compiled, Sultaniah was the royal residence. Abu Said, who died in 1335, was buried in the mausoleum which he had ordered to be built in his lifetime at Sultaniah (*l. c.* 720).

Odoric, who saw Sultaniah about 1320, says (Yule's "Cathay," 49): "Departing from the city of *Tauris,* I travelled for ten days, and reached a certain city called *Soldania,* in which dwelleth the emperor of the Persians in the summer season."

On the Catalan map the same city is termed *Sodania.* It was the See of an Archbishop about 1330 ("Cathay," 238).

Compare also Abulfeda, II. ii. 157, and Barbier de M., *l. c.* 315.

Sultaniah was destroyed by Timur at the end of the fourteenth century. He left only the magnificent mosque, which is still admired by travellers who pass by the great caravan and post-road from Teheran to Tabriz. Chardin states (ii. 378) that the father of Shah Abas the Great, who resided at Sultaniah, was buried near this mosque. As is known, Shah Abas transferred the royal residence from Sultaniah to Isfahan.

The position assigned to Sultaniah on the ancient map in relation to Kazvin and Abhar is not correct.

DSAN-DJANG=ZENDJAN.

Zendjan or *Zandjan* is mentioned by the early Arab geographers as a city of Djebal, near the boundary of Azarbaidjan. Istakhri, 100; Sprenger, *l. c.* map No. 7; Abulfeda, II. ii. 165. Zendjan is often mentioned by the Mohammedan historians relating the Mongol invasions. Subutai sacked the city in 1221. It was near Zendjan that Abu Said in 1319 defeated the troops of a mutinous general (d'Ohsson, i. 325; iv. 635, 640).

The city still exists, north-west of Sultaniah.

DU-RH-BEN=DERBEND.

Derbend is a very common name in Persian geography. The word means, according to d'Herbelot, "passage étroit et fermé." By Du-rh-ben on our ancient map, a place located in the north-western part of Persia, only *Derbend* on the western shore of the Caspian Sea can be meant, a very important strategic point in the Middle Ages, and long before that period.

The Arab geographers call Derbend *Bab-ul-abvab*, meaning "the gate of gates." The Turks call it *Demir kapi* (Iron gate).

Mas'udi, ii. 2, 3, in speaking of the *Kabkh* Mountains (Caucasus), states that the Persian king Khosru Anushirvan (531–579) built a city called *Bab-ul-abvab* on a point between the mountains and the Sea of the Khazars (Caspian). The same king erected also the celebrated wall, which on the one side projects (at Bab-ul-abvab) into the sea for about a mile, whilst on the other side it extends for forty parasangs over the steepest summits and deepest gorges of the mountains to a fortified place called *Tabarestan.* The wall has from three to three miles an iron gate. Troops were posted there to defend the passages and protect Persia against the tribes settled in the vicinity of the Kabkh Mountains, as the Khazars, the Alans, the Turks, &c. Compare also note 846, and Klaproth's translation of the Derbend Nameh or History of Derbend, written in the sixteenth century ("Nouv. Journ. Asiat.," iii. 439 *seq.*).

There is also another Eastern tradition, to which M. Polo alludes, according to which the wall in question was built by Alexander the Great, and therefore the Persians call it also *Sadd Eskanderi* (d'Herbelot, "Bibl. Or.").

In an Armenian geography, erroneously attributed to Moses of Chorene (who wrote a little after 440), mention is made of the wall of Derbend. Professor Patkanoff has proved that this ancient treatise was written in the seventh century.

About the end of the seventh century Derbend was taken by the Arabs. This place sustained an important *rôle* during the Middle Ages, and is frequently spoken of by the Mohammedan writers who relate the Mongol invasion of Western Asia and the wars of the Persian khans with the khans of Kipchak.

Subutai, who in 1222 first carried the Mongol arms north of the Caucasus, passed through Derbend, which then belonged to the little kingdom of Shirvan. He was not able to take the citadel, where Rashid Shirvan Shah had shut himself up (d'Ohsson, i. 336).

In 1262 Barkai, khan of Kipchak, sent a host of 30,000 men under the command of Nogai against Hulagu. Nogai passed through Derbend into the province of Shirvan. He was at first successful, but was afterwards forced to retire; Hulagu then proceeded through Derbend in pursuit of him. Some time after, Hulagu's son Abaka was defeated by Barkai and pursued as far as Derbend (d'Ohsson, iii. 379). This war is also recorded by M. Polo, ii. 495. In 1266 there was another battle fought between Barkai and Abaka near Derbend, in which the former was vanquished (d'Ohsson, iv. 180).

In 1318 Uzbeg, Khan of Kipchak, invaded the dominions of Abu Said and attacked Derbend (*ibid.* 613). In 1325 Choban, one of Abu Said's generals, passed through Derbend, and advanced as far as the river Terek (*ibid.* 666). Under the year 1334 another invasion by Uzbeg through Derbend is recorded (*ibid.* 716).

The first European traveller who mentions Derbend is the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in 1170. He terms it the Iron Gate of Alexander.

Rubruck in 1255 writes (252): "Post hos (Lesgos) est *Porta ferrea* quam fecit Alexander ad excludendos barbaros gentes de Perside." Farther on Rubruck relates his passing through the Porta ferrea on his way back. On p. 263 we read: "Est alius qui dicitur Jerra (Berca) frater Baatu qui pascit versus Portam ferream, ubi est iter Sarracenorum omnium venientium de Perside et de Turkia."

Haithon the traveller calls *Derbend* by its Persian name (see Part I.). Marco Polo notices the Iron Gate, of which the book of Alexander speaks (i. 52).

The ancient Russian annals of the thirteenth century speak of the *Jeleznya vorota* (Iron Gates), by which the high mountains of the Yasy (Asi, Alans) and Cherkess might be avoided (Karamzin, iv. 355).

In the days of Timur, Derbend still retained its strategical importance. In 1387 Timur, when encamped on the Araxes, sent his troops against the Kipchaks, who had passed Derbend. In 1395 the conqueror, at the head of his army, passed Derbend from Shirvan, defeated the Kipchaks, and then invaded Russia (Zafernameh, ii. 56, iii. 51).

Although Edrisi, ii. 329, enumerates twelve defiles by which the Caucasus could be crossed, it seems nevertheless that in ancient times the only practicable road leading from Persia to the regions north of the Caucasus passed by Derbend. As is known, a splendid artificial road, crossing the middle of the Caucasian range near Mount Kazbek, since the year 1800 connects Russia with the Transcaucasian provinces. Derbend, which since the year 1806 has belonged to Russia, is now one of the finest cities of those regions, situated very picturesquely with its old walls on the slope of the eastern termination of the Caucasus and on the Caspian Sea. A good view of Derbend is given in Yule's "Marco Polo," i. 57. Yule complains that he was not able to find any modern information regarding the famous Caucasian wall which begins at Derbend. I may therefore observe that interesting details on the subject are found in Legkobytov's "Survey of the Russian Dominions beyond the Caucasus" (in Russian), 1836, vol. iv. p. 158–161, and in Dubois de Montpéreux's "Voyage autour du Caucase," 1840, vol. iv. p. 291–298, from which I shall give here an abstract:—

The city of Derbend is situated on the slope of the mountains which descend towards the sea-shore. It is bounded on three sides by walls, of which the northern and the southern are about three versts in length. These walls project into the sea; and to the south-west they ascend a steep rock more than a thousand feet high, and join the citadel called *Naryn kale.* (This is evidently the same citadel which the Mongols were unable to take; *v. supra.*)

The famous *Dagh bary* (mountain wall) now begins at the village of *Djelgan,* four versts south-west of Derbend, but we know that as late as the beginning of the last century it could be traced down to the southern gate of the city. This ancient wall then stretches westward to the high mountains of *Tabasseran* (it seems the Tabarestan of Mas'udi). About the commencement it is in a demolished state, but farther on among the wooded mountains it is well preserved. The outer stones of the wall are well hewn, 3½ feet square, and nearly a foot thick. The middle of the wall consists of smaller stones, which, though not hewn, are closely fitted in. At some places the wall measures more than 20 feet in height (originally it was obviously higher), the thickness being not less than seven feet. Trees of remarkable size have grown upon the wall, and frequently these have caused it to fall to pieces. At distances of from a thousand to fourteen hundred feet it is provided with towers and bastions. Thirty-six versts from Derbend, at the village of *Lidjili,* a well-preserved ancient gate in the wall can be seen. Farther westward an ancient fort connected with the wall is known under the name of *Kedjeli kala.* It is 28 feet high, 84 feet long, and 24 broad. This western section of the Caucasian wall stretches with some interruptions to *Maghal Kushandaga,* in the district of *Kazikumyk,* about eighty versts from Derbend. It is an error to believe that there existed a continuous wall running over the Caucasus chain from the Caspian to the Black Sea. As the Caucasus itself represents to a great extent an insurmountable barrier, it was only required to shut up the entrances of the defiles leading over the mountains in order to prevent invasions from the north. Thus many remains of that ancient wall are found in the upper valleys of the northern slope of the Caucasus range, and especially in its middle part, in the vicinity of Mount Kazbek. Dubois de Montpéreux enumerates the following sites of remains of the wall:—

In the famous defile of *Dariel,* north-east of the Kazbek (see note 846).

In the valley of the *Assai* river, near *Wapila,* about 35 versts north-east of Dariel.

In the valley of the *Kizil* river, about 15 versts north-west of the Kazbek.

Farther west, in the valley of the *Fiag* or *Pog* river, between *Lacz* and *Khilak.*

From this place farther west about 25 versts, in the valley of the *Arredon* river, in the district of *Valaghir.*

Finally, the westernmost section of the Caucasian wall has been preserved, which was evidently intended to shut up the maritime defile of *Gagry* on the Black Sea.

BA-RH-DA-A = BARDAA.

Bardaa, an ancient city, founded, according to Yakut, by King Kobad of Persia (491–531). See Barbier de M., 91. It is mentioned by all the ancient Arab and Persian geographers as the capital of the kingdom of *Arran,* by which name the Mohammedan authors designate the country between the rivers Kur and Araxes. The Armenian authors call the same *Aghovania.* Bardaa in the Middle Ages was a large and rich city. Masudi, ii. 75, states that the river Kur passes at a distance of three miles from Bardaa.

Bardaa is of special interest in the early history of Russia. The Armenian and Mohammedan authors agree in recording that in A.D. 944 the Russians captured and plundered Bardaa (Dorn's "Caspia," 285–304).

Moses Caghancatovatsi, who lived about the middle or towards the end of the tenth century, and whose birthplace was not very far from Berdaa, reports that in the said year a northern people called *Ruzik* sailed through the Caspian Sea, and arrived unexpectedly at *Partav*, the capital of *Aghovania*,[862] captured and plundered the city, and killed the inhabitants. After six months they left the ruined city (Dorn, *l. c.* 285, 286).

Ibn el Athir (+1233) records (he draws evidently from an earlier author) under the same year the same predatory expedition of the Russians, who from the Caspian Sea sailed up the river Kur, and captured and plundered Bardaa (*l. c.* 296).

It seems d'Ohsson mentions Bardaa only once, iii. 178. A vizier of Sultan Djelal-eddin sojourned there in 1228.

Bardaa was a metropolitan see of the Nestorian Church in the fourteenth century (Yule's "Cathay," cclv.).

Bardaa is frequently mentioned by the historians of Timur. In 1400 the conqueror encamped ten days in the plain of Bardaa, which at that time was the capital of the *Karabagh*[863] (Zafernameh, v. 8). Dorn states (*l. c.* 263) that Nadir Shah of Persia (1735–47) destroyed Bardaa.

Dorn (*l. c.* 45) in 1861 visited the ruins of Bardaa. He gives an illustration of a remarkable tower there. These ruins are situated on the right bank of the river *Terter*, a southern affluent of the Kur, near the village of *Bardeh*, which is on the left bank, south-east of Elisabethopol.

SHE-LI-WANG = SHIRVAN.

By *She-li-wang* the compiler of the ancient map apparently means *Shirvan*, in the eastern part of Transcaucasia (see note 862); but he is mistaken in locating it too far south.

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[862] It seems Albania is intended. The same name, *Aghovania*, occurs in Haithon's itinerary (see note 457), and is applied there to *Shirvan*, the country situated between the Kur river and the Caspian Sea, the Albania of Ptolemy and Strabo, which Rubruck also designates by the name Albania. It does not seem, however, that ancient (Caucasian) Albania included also the land between the Kur and the Araxes.

[863] Now-a-days the city of *Shusha* is the capital of the *Karabagh*, as the country between the Kur and Araxes is called.

Mas'udi states (ii. 4) that after Anushirvan (531–579) had founded Babel-abwab (Derbend) he countenanced several (small) kingdoms in the region of the Caucasus. Among these there was the kingdom of *Shirvan*, the ruler of which took the title *Shirvan Shah.* Shirvan was conquered by the Arabs in the reign of the Calif Vathek (842–847). Subsequently it belonged to the Buyids (*v. supra*, p. 108).

At the time of the first Mongol invasion of Western Asia, Shirvan seems to have been ruled by an independent prince, Rashid Shirvan Shah. The country was ravaged by the Mongols in 1221 or 1222, and its capital *Shemakha* burnt. Rashid had fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Derbend (d'Ohsson, i. 336).

In the Yüan shi (chap. cxx.), biography of Ho-sze-mai-li, *Shi-rh-wan-sha* is mentioned in connection with Subutai's and Chebe's expedition to the region of the Caucasus.

Shirvan is still the name of a district in Transcaucasia, having for its capital *Shemakha.*

SA-LI-MANG = TAKHT I SOLEIMAN (?).

The Si pei ti writes the name *Sa-li-mang*, whilst the map has *Sa-li-shi.* If the former be the correct reading, the name *Soleiman* may be intended.

On modern maps we find a city *Soleimania* midway between Tabriz and Bagdad; but this place is out of the question, being founded in 1788 (Ritter, "Asien," vi.*b.* 566).

I am inclined to identify So-li-mang with *Takht i Soleiman.* The ruins of this city are considered by Sir H. Rawlinson to be identical with Ganzaka, the ancient capital of Azerbaidjan (Ritter, *l. c.* 1040 *seq.*). They are situated west of Zendjan, in the mountains where the river Chagatu, a southern affluent of the Urumia lake, partly takes its rise. (On our ancient map *Sa-li-mang* or *Sa-li-shi* is located north of Zendjan.)

Rashid reports that Hulagu died in 1265 on the river *Chogatu*, where he was accustomed to stay in winter (d'Ohsson, iii. 406). Hulagu's successor, Abaka, according to the same author, had his ordu on the same river (*l. c.* 455). Ritter states, on the authority of Rawlinson, it seems, that Abaka had a palace at Takhti Soleiman, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

MAO-SI-LI = MOSUL.

Mosul, the celebrated city of Mesopotamia, situated on the Tigris, is first mentioned by the Arab chroniclers in connection with the first conquest of the Arabs (Ritter, *l. c.* vii.*b.* 176).

When Hulagu invaded Western Asia, Mosul was a small principality ruled over by Bedr-eddin Lulu, who went in person to Meraga in 1258 to offer his submission to the Mongol prince (d'Ohsson, iii. 258). Thus Mosul at first escaped destruction by the Mongols, but after Bedr-eddin's death the inhabitants revolted. The Mongols besieged the city for nine months, and after its capture in 1262 utterly destroyed it (*l. c.* 372).

Mosul was a metropolitan see of the Nestorian Church in the Middle Ages (Yule's "Cathay," ccxliv.).

M. Polo devotes a chapter of his book to the kingdom of *Mausul* (i. 61). He states among other things: "All the cloths of gold and silk that are called *Mosolins* are made in this country." It would seem from this statement that mosolin or muslin had a very different meaning from what it has now. I may, however, observe that in the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's travels to the west in 1221, it is stated that in Samarkand the men of the lower classes and the priests wrap their heads about with a piece of white *mo-sze* (see i. 89). There can be no doubt that mo-sze here denotes "muslin," and the Chinese author seems to understand by this term the same material which we are now used to call muslin.

Marignolli speaks of *Monsol* (probably a clerical error for Mousol) on the Tygris, a city built out of the ruins of Nynive ("Cathay," 351).

U-K'I-BA-LA = OKBARA.

U-k'i-ba-la, placed on the ancient map south-east of Mosul, is without doubt the city of *Okbara* mentioned by the early Arab geographers on the eastern bank of the Tigris above Bagdad, distant ten *parasangs* from the latter place (Istakhri, 54; Edrisi, ii. 146; Abulfeda, II. ii. 74, 75; Sprenger, *l. c.* map No. 9).

Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century) reached Bagdad from Okbara in two days (Ritter, *l. c.* vii.*a.* 256).

It does not seem that Okbara exists now-a-days.

BA-GHI-DA = BAGDAD.

This name has been omitted from the ancient map, but is found in the list of the Si pei ti.

As is known, Bagdad was founded by Almansur, the second of the Abbaside Califs, A.D. 764, who before that time resided in *Anbar*.[864] Originally a city was built on the western bank of the Tigris; but, some years later, it was found more convenient to lay out one on the opposite bank; and this then became the celebrated city of *Bagdad*, where the Calif established his residence. The western city was afterwards considered only a suburb and called *Karshi*[865] (d'Ohsson, iii. 248).

The capture of Bagdad by Hulagu in 1258 has been related in i. 119. Subsequently the Mongol khans of

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[864] Yakut, quoted by Abulfeda, II. ii. 74, states that the first of the Abbaside Califs resided at *Anbar*, a city distant ten *parasangs* west from Bagdad, on the Euphrates river.

[865] This suburb still exists under about the same name on the western bank of the Tigris, opposite Bagdad. See Cernik, "Gebiete des Euphrat. und Tigris," Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," Erg.h. 44, p. 28; and map of Bagdad, where this suburb is termed *Karshiaka*.

Persia were accustomed to pass the winter in Bagdad (Ghazan, Oldjaitu; see d'Ohsson, iv. 172, ii. 535).

Pl. Carpini terms Bagdad *Baldach* (681, 709). The same spelling of the name occurs in Haithon's "Accounts of Asiatic Kingdoms," 147, where *Baldach* is stated to be the greatest city of the kingdom of Chaldæa. Bagdad in the Middle Ages was a metropolitan see of the Nestorian Church ("Cathay," ccxliv.).

M. Polo devotes several chapters to the Great City of *Baudas* (as he writes the name of Bagdad), the last Calif, and the end of his supremacy (i. 64 *seq.*).

The Chinese mediæval traveller Ch'ang Te applies nearly the same name as M. Polo to Bagdad in styling it *Bao-da.* He also gives many details about the Calif and the capture of Bagdad by the Mongols (see i. 138). Ch'ang Te states, in accordance with the Mohammedan authors, that ancient Bagdad (as now-a-days) consisted of an eastern and a western city, a large river running between them. The western city had no wall, whilst the eastern one was well fortified.

In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi the name of Bagdad appears repeatedly. It is spelt there *Bakhtat*, and the Calif is termed *Khalibo.* In the unabbreviated text of this work a list is given of articles, animals, &c., sent from Bagdad to Ogotai khan. I proceed to give the names of these articles, and venture an identification of some of them. The Chinese translation of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi (made in the fourteenth century) furnishes some explanations of these names, which, for the greater part, seem to be Turkish, Persian, or Arabic words. I add a translation of the Chinese explanations in parenthesis:—

Shiramala (?).
Nakhut (a kind of gold brocate).
Nachidut (a silk stuff interwoven with gold).
Dardas (a stuff embroidered in gold).
Subut (pearls).
Tanas (great pearls).

Tobichaut (horses from Bageda with long legs and long necks).
Gurin eleut (camels).
Dao-u-si (?).
Kichidut (camels).
Khachidut (mules).

With respect to *nakhut* and *nachidut*, I may observe that these words represent the Mongol plural form of *nakh* and *nachid;* and the latter apparently represent the stuffs *nacchi* and *nachetti* spoken of by Pegolotti in his notice of the trade at Constantinople ("Cathay," 306). The stuff nakh is named several times by Ibn Batuta, and explained by him as cloths of silk and gold. Rubruck tells us (317) that Mangu khan made him a present of *nasic.* M. Polo (i. 65) speaks of gold brocades, such as *nasich* and *nac,* woven in Baudas. I may finally mention that in the Yüan shi, chap. lxxviii. (on official dresses), a stuff, *na-shi-shi,* is repeatedly named, and the term is explained there by *kin kin* (gold brocate).

In the same chap. of the Yüan shi we also meet with the term *su-bu-du* (evidently the same as *subut* in the above list). It is explained as pearls. *Subut* even now is the Mongol name for pearl.

In the same chapter we find also the term *t'a-na,* explained by *tung chu* (Eastern pearl). Now-a-days tung chu is the name applied in Peking to the finest and largest kind of pearls; but *tana* in modern Mongol means mother-of-pearl.

As to the horses from Bagdad called *tobichaut*, they are also spoken of by the Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te, who applies to them the same name. See i. 140; see also note 381. *Topchaq* in the Turkish Chagatai dialect is a long-necked Turkman horse.

K'U-FA = KUFAH.

K'u-fa also is not marked on the ancient map, but this name appears in the list of the Si pei ti.

The city of *Kufah* was founded in 638, in the reign of

Calif Omar (Mas'udi, iv. 225). The Calif of Abul Abbas (750–754) established his residence there, but subsequently transferred it to *Anbar*. In the first period of Islam, Kufah was a much celebrated city and a centre of Mohammedan learning. Benjamin of Tudela visited Kufah in the twelfth century (Ritter, *l. c.* vii.*a*. 266).

According to the authors quoted by Abulfeda (II. ii. 73), Kufah was situated on a branch of the Euphrates. Cernik, *l. c.*, on his map places Kufah indeed on a western branch of that river, which runs through the lake Bahri Nedshef, in lat. 32°.

The Mohammedan historians record the capture of Kufah by the Mongols in 1258 (d'Ohsson, iii. 255).

WA-SI-DI=VASIT.

This name, coupled in the Si pei ti with Kufah, is not found on the ancient map, but evidently *Vasit* is meant, founded, according to Yakut, in A.D. 703, between Kufah and Basrah (Abulfeda, II. ii. 80). As it was situated not only midway between Kufah and Basrah, but also between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, it received the above name, meaning "the middle" in Arabic (d'Herbelot, "Bibl. Or."). It seems that Vasit still exists, for it is marked on Cernik's map.

K'I-LI-MANG-SHA-HANG=KIRMANSHAHAN.

Kirmanshahan, or, as it is now-a-days generally called, *Kirmanshah*, a city of Western Persia, was founded, according to Mirkhond, by the Sassanian king Bahram (Varanes, iv. 388–399), who, on account of his having been governor of Kirman in the lifetime of his father Shapur (Sapor II.), had the surname Kirman Shah. The new city became the residence of Bahram. Nushirvan (539–72) and Khosru Parvez (590–628) also held their courts in Kirmanshah (Ritter, "Asien," vi.*b*. 374). But according to another author quoted by Yakut (Barbier de M., 438), Kirmanshahan was founded by Kobad (491–531).

Yakut informs us also that the Arabic name of the city is *Karmisin*. Rashid mentions Kermanshahan only once (d'Ohsson, iv. 313).

NA-HA-WAN-DI=NAHAVAND.

Nahavand is placed on Cernik's map south of Hamadan and east of Kirmanshah. It is an ancient city. Some Mohammedan geographers assert that it was founded by Noah, whence the name (Abulfeda, II. ii. 165).

This place is of historic celebrity; for it was at Nahavand that, in 642, the famous battle was fought in which the army of Yezdejerd III., the last king of the Sassanian dynasty, was defeated by the Arabs.

LO-RH=LOR OR LURISTAN.

Lor, *Lur*, or *Luristan* is still the name of the mountainous country between Kuzistan and Irak Adjem. When the Mongols invaded Western Asia, Lur was divided into two principalities, known as *Great* and *Little Lur*, ruled by Atabegs (d'Ohsson, iii. 261, iv. 171). This distinction still exists.

M. Polo, i. 84, terms one of his kingdoms of Persia *Lor*.

SHE-LA-TSZ'=SHULISTAN.

The position assigned to She-la-tsz' on the ancient map, between Shiraz and Kazerun, seems to point to *Shulistan*. The latter name is applied to the *Shuls*, a people who long occupied a part of Luristan, but were expelled by the Lurs in the twelfth century, and then settled in the country between Shiraz and Kuzistan, west of Shiraz.

Rashid mentions the Shuls once, in stating that in 1262 Salih, prince of Mosul, besieged by the Mongols, distributed money to the Turkmans, Kurds, and *Shuls* who were in Mosul (d'Ohsson, iii. 372). The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) speaks of the *Shuls*. See Quatremère, "Hist. des Mongols," 381–384.

M. Polo, i. 84, names *Suolstan* or *Cielstan* (Shelstan) as one of the eight kingdoms of Persia. Ibn Batuta, going from Shiraz to Kazerun, encamped the first day in the country of the *Shuls.*

SIE-LA-SHI=SHIRAZ.

The history of *Shiraz,* the capital of Fars or Persia proper, does not begin earlier, it seems, than Islam, for the ancient capital of Fars was *Istakhr* (Persepolis). Ibn Haukal, quoted by Abulfeda, II. ii. 97, calls Shiraz a new city founded by the Mussulmans. I may, however, observe that the name of Shiraz is met with in the early history of Persia (Shahnameh, iv. 191).

At the time of the rise of the Mongol power, the dynasty of the Salghar Atabegs, who were descended from Salghar, a governor of Fars, reigned in Fars. Salghar's grandson, Sankor, had profited by the weakness of the Seldjuks, and in 1148 made himself independent. His successors reigned with the title of *Atabeg* in Fars; their residence was in *Shiraz.* When the Mongols for the first time ravaged Western Asia, they did not reach Shiraz; and Atabeg Abubekr (1231–60), who was anxious to be on good terms with the Great Khan, sent his brother with rich presents to Ogotai khan, and received the title Kutlug khan (d'Ohsson, ii. 92). When Hulagu passed the Djihun in 1256, Abubekr sent his nephew to compliment the Mongol prince (*ibid.* iii. 140). Thus Shiraz was spared by the Mongols until 1262, when Hulagu sent troops to this city to punish Abubekr's successor, Seldjuk Shah, who was guilty of several acts of violence. After a stout resistance the latter was made prisoner in Kazerun and executed. From that time a Salgharian princess, married to a son of Hulagu, had the mere title of Atabeg of Fars; for this province was under Mongol administration (*ibid.* 400 *seq.*).

M. Polo, i. 84, speaks of the Persian kingdom of *Serazy.*

In the narrative of travel of C'hang Te, and in the biography of *Kuo K'an*, Shiraz is termed *Shi-lo-tsz'*, and the title of Atabeg of the princes of Fars is rendered there by *a-t'a-bei* (see i. 145, 146).

KO-DSA-LUNG=KAZERUN.

Kazerun is still the name of a city in Fars, west of Shiraz. This name occurs in the early history of Persia (Barbier de M., 472). In the history of the Mongol khans in Persia, Kazerun is twice mentioned. In 1264 Seldjuk Shah of Fars was made prisoner by the Mongols in Kazerun and executed there (d'Ohsson, iii. 401). Ibid. iv. 207, it is reported that Kutlug Khodja, a Mongol prince of the Chagatai branch, ravaged Fars in 1300, and proceeded through Shiraz and Kazerun to Kuzistan and Guermsir.

K'IE-SHI=KISH.

Kish, Kis, or *Kais* is an island in the Persian Gulf, on which for a long time one of the chief ports of trade with India and the East was situated. Kish is not mentioned by the early Arab geographers, for in the ninth and the first half of the tenth century *Siraf* was the headquarters of Indian and Chinese trade in the Persian Gulf. Kazvini (fourteenth century) and Hafiz Abru (fifteenth century) attribute the decline of Siraf to the rise of *Kish* as a seaport since the second half of the tenth century (Ouseley's "Travels in Southern Persia," quoted in Ritter, "Asien," vi.*a.* 774–775).

M. Polo (i. 64, 85; ii. 324, 357) mentions this port repeatedly, but he seems to speak without personal knowledge; for according to him, *Kisi* or *Kis* is a city on the shore of the Indian Sea, situated where the merchants coming from Baudas enter that sea. Ibn Batuta, ii. 243, mentions the city of *Kais*, called also *Siraf*. But he also is mistaken. None of the other Persian or Arab mediæval geographers identifies Siraf with Kais or Kish. Yakut as well as Abulfeda notice *Kish* (called *Kis* in Arabic) as an island and seaport between Fars and Oman, and speak separately of *Siraf*, a city and port of Fars (Barbier, *l. c.* 499, 331; Abulfeda, II. ii. 129, 96).

Kish or Kais, Kis, is not to be confounded with the large island of *Kishm*, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Kish, or, as it is named on our maps, *Geise* or *Kena*, is a small island about 100 miles farther up west. It is wooded and well supplied with fresh water. The ruins of a city exist on the north side (Yule's "M. Polo," i. 66, note). According to Ouseley, quoted in Ritter, *Siraf* lay opposite this island, on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf.

BA-HA-LA-YIN = BAHARAÏN.

Ba-ha-la-yin is the most southern place or country in Abu Said's empire or Persia marked on our ancient map. There can be no doubt that by *Baharaïn* is meant in ancient times the name of a province in Eastern Arabia, stretching along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, and the same as *El Hasa* on modern maps (Istakhri, 9; Abulfeda, ii. 137). According to Ibn Batuta (ii. 245), *Bahreïn* was the name of a city, on the mainland it seems, between which and Siraf was a gulf with calm water famed for pearl-fishing. Now-a-days the name Bahreïn is applied to a great island situated in the bay of the same name near the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The bay of Bahareïn is still well known for its pearl-oyster beds (Colonel D. Wilson, "Pearl-Fisheries in the Persian Gulf," J. R. Geogr. Soc., iii. 1834, 283–286; Brenner's "Report on Pearl-Fishing in the Bay of Baharein," Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1873, 37). Compare also a Chinese mediæval account of pearl-fishing in the Persian Gulf in vol. i. 145, 146.

HU-LI-MU-TSZ' = HORMUZ.

This name is found only in the list of the Si pei ti, not on the ancient map. No doubt by *Hormuz* is meant the celebrated emporium at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.

The name of this place seems to be of very ancient origin, for Arrian tells us that Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, when returning from India, beached his fleet on the shore of *Harmozeia*. A place *Armuza* appears in Ptolemy. But it was only in the tenth or eleventh century that Hormuz acquired its importance as a seaport of Indian trade. It had been preceded by *Kish* as the principal port in the Persian Gulf (eleventh to thirteenth century); and, as we have seen, before Kish, in the ninth and tenth century *Siraf* occupied the most prominent place among the Persian seaports.

The port of Hormuz, which before the Mongol period belonged to the Salghar Atabegs of Fars, originally stood upon the mainland. M. Polo, who visited this place twice, terming it generally *Hormos* (once also *Curmosa*), states expressly that it was a seaport upon the mainland (i. 110). The great traveller, when leaving China in 1292, returned by the sea-route. He was entrusted with the important mission of accompanying a Mongol princess from China to the court of the Persian khan, and they landed at Hormuz (ii. 450).

The *Ormes* visited by Odoric in about 1320 was on an island some five miles distant from the mainland ("Cathay," 56). A few years later Ibn Batuta saw this place. He speaks (ii. 230) of the city of Hormus, situated on the seashore, whence he proceeded to *New Hormuz* or *Djeraun*, situated on an island opposite the old city.

Abulfeda, II. ii. 104, relates: "Hormuz is the port of Kerman, a city rich in palms and very hot. One who has visited it in our day tells me that the ancient Hormuz was devastated by the incursions of the Tartars, and that its people transferred their abode to an island in the sea called *Zarun*."

When the Portuguese made their first appearance in the Persian Gulf, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hormuz[866] was a rich entrepôt of Indian trade. It was taken in 1509 by Albuquerque, and in the sixteenth century flourished as one of the richest ports of the East. But in 1622 the Portuguese were expelled from the island by the united English and Persian forces. Shah Abbas destroyed the city of Hormuz and built another seaport on the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf, which was named *Bender Abbasi.*

We learn from M. Polo that in the time of Kubilai khan Chinese vessels visited Hormuz. The Yüan shi mentions several seaports of the Indian Ocean as carrying on trade with China; Hormuz is not spoken of there. I may, however, quote from the Yüan History a curious statement which perhaps refers to this port. In chap. cxxiii., biography of *Arsz-lan*, it is recorded that his grandson Hurdutai, by order of Kubilai khan, accompanied *Bu-lo no-yen* on his mission to the country of *Ha-rh-ma-sz'* (see note 850). This latter name may be intended for Hormuz. I do not think that by the Noyen *Bulo* M. Polo could be meant, for the title noyen would hardly have been applied to him. But Rashid-eddin mentions a distinguished Mongol, by name *Pulad*, with whom he was acquainted in Persia, and who furnished him much information regarding the history of the Mongols. This may be the *Bu-lo no-yen* of the Hüan History.

I finally proceed to translate some details regarding Hormuz in the fifteenth century, found in the History of the Ming dynasty, chap. cccxxvi. This account reads as follows:—

Hu-lu-mu-sz' is a great kingdom,[867] situated on the Western Sea north-west of *Ku-li* (probably Kalikut), from which place it can be reached in twenty-five days. In the year 1412, the emperor Yung le sent *Cheng Ho* to the countries of the Western Sea.[868] Gifts were bestowed upon the ruler of Hu-lu-mu-sz', his wives and ministers. Subsequently he sent an envoy, by name *I-dsi-ding*, to the Chinese court. He brought a letter written on gold paper and presented horses and products of his country as tribute. After this the embassies from Hu-lu-mu-sze were four times repeated, and Cheng Ho was sent thither for a second time in 1430. The kingdom was then ruled by *Sai-fu-ding*.[869] Three years later an embassy sent by this prince reached Peking and presented tribute, which was courteously received by the emperor.

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[866] De Barros, in his "Asia," middle of the sixteenth century (German translation by Soltau, 1821, ii. 31), states that *Ormuz* is situated on a small island called *Djerung*, three miles distant from the Persian coast.

[867] De Barros (*l. c.* 32) states that the kingdom of which Ormuz is the capital lies on both shores of the gulf, in Arabia and in Persia.

The country of Hu-lu-mu-sz' is situated on the utmost border of the Western Sea. The trading vessels of the southern barbarians come thither, and the nations of the Great Western Sea, as well as the merchants of the *Si yü* (Western Asia) meet there for commercial purposes; wherefore this country is very rich. Snow is unknown there, but hoar-frost occurs; it seldom rains, and the soil is sterile, so that corn has to be brought from abroad. The people are wealthy. The women, when they go out of doors, veil their faces. Every necessary is to be had in the markets; but wine is forbidden, and whoever violates the interdict is severely punished, and sometimes even put to death. The ruler of Hu-lu-mu-sz', the officers, and the people profess the Mohammedan (*Hui*) religion. They wash and pray five times a day. The soil there is covered with *kien* (salt),[870] wherefore grass and trees do not thrive there. Cattle and horses are fed on dried fish.[871] As regards fruits, there are walnuts, *ba-dan*,[872] pine seeds, pomegranates, grapes, and dates.[873]

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[868] About Cheng Ho's mission see note 880.

[869] De Barros (*l. c.* 34) states, on the authority of Persian authors, that about the time here spoken of Ormuz was ruled by *Seifadin*, who reigned twenty years. Compare also Teixeira, "Reyes de Persia y de Harmuz," 1670.

[870] *Kien* in Peking is a kind of impure carbonate of soda used for soap, but in this case evidently salt is meant. De Barros (*l. c.* 31) states that the ground of the island of Ormuz is quite sterile owing to the salt and sulphur it contains.

There is a great hill which is differently coloured on each of its four sides. One side consists of red rock-salt, of which the people make vessels; and when they put flesh in these, it is not necessary to add salt for its preservation.[874] Another side is of white clay, used for whitewashing walls. The third and fourth sides of the hill are of reddish carnation and yellow clay, which is also brought into use.[875]

The country produces lions, *k'i-lin*,[876] *t'o-ki*,[877] *fu-lu*,[878]

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[871] The surprising custom of feeding cattle of all sorts upon fish on the coast of Oman is recorded by Ibn Batuta (ii. 197), as well as by M. Polo (ii. 439).

[872] *Badam* is the Persian name for almonds. See note 26.

[873] *Wan nien tsao*, "ten thousand years' jujubes;" called also *Po-sze tsao*, or "Persian jujubes." These names and others were applied since the time of the T'ang dynasty to the dates brought from Persia. The author of the Pen ts'ao kang mu (end of the sixteenth century) states that this fruit is called *k'u-lu-ma* in Persia. The Persian name of the date is *khurma*.

[874] The salt-hills of the island of Ormuz are noticed by Ibn Batuta (1330), Barbosa (1516), and Corsali (1517). Ibn Batuta, ii. 231, says that there are hills consisting of a kind of salt, called *darani*, of which the people make vases. Barbosa (Stanley's transl. 41) reports: "Outside of the city of Ormuz, in the island itself, there is a small mountain, which is entirely of rock-salt and sulphur; this salt is in great lumps, and very white and good; they call it Indian salt, and the ships which come there from all parts take this salt," &c. Corsali ("Ramusio," i. 187), states that the rock-salt found in the hills near Ormuz is of a reddish colour.

[875] Compare the reports of Figueroa (1617) and Kinneir (1813), quoted by Ritter, "Arabien," i. 437, 441, about the various colours of the rocks in the island of Ormuz.

[876] *K'i-lin* is a fabulous animal of the Chinese—the Chinese unicorn. It is known that the ancients in the West also believed in the existence of the unicorn, or an animal with one horn; and even now the people of Western Asia and Africa still believe in its existence. Some modern zoologists are of opinion that the straight-horned antelope, *Oryx Beisa*, may have formed the groundwork of the popular conception of this animal.

[877] *T'o-ki* or camel-fowl is the ostrich. Compare note 392.

[878] The great Geography of the Ming states that *fu-lu* is the name of a handsome striped beast resembling a donkey. Thus *fu-lu* seems to denote the zebra.

ling yang.[879] Great pearls and various precious stones are also found there.

V.—COUNTRIES AND PLACES MARKED ON THE MAP WEST OF THE DOMINIONS OF ABU SAID.

KI-SZ'-DA-NI=KONSTANTINAH OR CONSTANTINOPLE.

Konstantinah was the name by which the Persians, Arabs, and Turks used to designate Constantinople (Istakhri, 43; Abulfeda, ii. 315).

The Mongol khans in Persia were generally on good terms with the Byzantine emperors, and several marriages of Byzantine princesses with Mongol khans are recorded by the Byzantine chroniclers. Hulagu demanded in marriage a daughter of Michael Palæologus, named Mary, who was sent in compliance with this demand; but when she arrived in Persia, Hulagu was dead, and she was married to his son and successor, Abaka khan. This princess is mentioned by Rashid under the name of *Tespina* (d'Ohsson, iii. 418). This is evidently the Greek *Δέσποινα*, princess. Andronicus the Elder is said to have given his natural daughter to Ghazan, khan of Persia, and a few years later his sister Mary to Oldjaitu khan (*l. c.* iv. 315, 318). Other Byzantine princesses were married to the khans of Kipchak.

MI-SZ'-RH=MISR OR EGYPT.

Mizraim is the name by which Egypt is designated in the Bible. The Arabic *Misr* is evidently derived from this appellation. It properly means the capital of Egypt (Istakhri, 18, 28, 146; Abulfeda, ii. 139). When speaking of the country, the Arab geographers use the terms Dyar-Misr or Bilad-Misr (provinces of Misr).

In the Yüan shi, the name of *Mi-si-rh* or Egypt occurs several times. Chʿang Te, in his account of the countries of the West, gives some particulars regarding *Mi-si-rh*. See i. 141, 142.

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[879] The Pen ts'ao kang mu, i. 34, gives *ling yang* as a synonym of *ta wei yang*, or broad-tailed sheep.

DI-MI-SHI-GHI=DIMASHK, DAMASCUS.

The history of Damascus can be traced back to the narratives of Holy Scripture, where this city, the capital of one of the kingdoms of Syria, is often mentioned. Dimashk is frequently noticed in the Persian annals in connection with the wars of the Mongol khans of Persia with the sultans of Egypt in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In a letter addressed by Arghun, khan of Persia, to King Philip of France, written in Mongol in 1289, and preserved in the French archives, Damascus is termed *Dimiski* (Pauthier's "M. Polo," 776).

In the "Mémoires conc. les Chinois," xiv. 246, Father Amiot has translated from the Chinese a petition addressed to one of the Ming emperors by a Mohammedan, *Ho-che han tung*, from *Di-mi-shi*, soliciting permission to travel in China. From the accompanying original petition in Persian, it appeared, as Rémusat states, that by Di-mi-shi Damascus was meant.

DAN-YA=DAMIAT OR DAMIETTA (?).

Although the position assigned to Dan-ya on the ancient map (north of Constantinople) does not suit Damietta, I nevertheless suppose that this city, situated on the eastern mouth of the Nile, was meant. At least there was no country or city north of Constantinople bearing a similar name. Damiat played an important part in the crusades. The Mongol armies never advanced as far as Damietta, but of course the name was well known to them. The Catalan map writes the name *Damyat*.

Part IV.

CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

PRELIMINARY NOTICES.

The power of the great Mongol Empire in Eastern Asia (Mongolia, China, &c.) established by Kubilai Khan, who in 1260 had moved the seat of government to China, subsisted no longer than while it was sustained by the firm and dexterous hand of this illustrious monarch. Not very long after his death (in 1294) the mighty empire began to decline under the rule of his incapable and debauched successors, and at length the weakness of the Great Khans gave free scope to the rise and progress of a new Chinese dynasty. *Chu Yüan chang,* a humble Chinese plebeian, became about 1353 the leader of a vast host of insurgents, and, owing to his commanding ability, finally succeeded in overthrowing the Mongol dynasty in China. Having expelled the Mongols from Northern China in 1368, he proclaimed himself Emperor, taking the title *Hung wu.* He was the celebrated founder of the *Ming* dynasty.

The Mongols, confined to their original seats, the steppes of Mongolia, continued to rule there as troublesome northern neighbours of the new Chinese empire.

A western branch of the Mongols, known under the names of *Oirat* or *Kalmuks,* occupied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the land north of the eastern T'ien shan mountains, or Eastern Dsungaria. Subsequently we find also tribes of them living in the southern part of Western Mongolia and in Kukunor.

Eastern and Western Turkestan, as also the western part of the tracts which we call Dsungaria, continued in the Ming period to constitute the dominions of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chinghiz. This was the so-called Middle Empire, and included originally Transoxiana. But in the first half of the fourteenth century the Middle Empire came to be divided, and Maverannahr or Transoxiana was then ruled by separate khans of the same house of Chagatai. About fifty years later, in 1370, the great conqueror Timur, who likewise traced his descent from the royal stock of Chinghiz, ascended the throne of Chagatai in Samarkand, and laid the foundation of a new dynasty. At his death in 1405 he left to his successors the greatest empire the world ever saw.

The eastern part of the Middle Empire (Eastern and Western Turkestan and Western Dsungaria), called *Moghulistan*, or the country of the *Jetes*, by the Mohammedan historians of Timur and his successors, continued to remain under the rule of sovereigns of Chagatai's lineage, and survived the numerous attacks and devastations by the conqueror's armies. Only a century after Timur's death the last Khan of Moghulistan is reported to have been put to death by Sheibani, the founder of the Uzbeg power in Central Asia, and who a few years earlier had driven out the Timurids from Transoxiana. The succession of Khans of Moghulistan was, however, carried on for many years afterwards by one branch of the house of Djagatai in *Turfan* and the farthest East. Besides this, another Moghul khanship had risen, end of the fourteenth century, in *Kashgar*, and seems to have still subsisted in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The empire of the Mongol dynasty of the *Ilkhans*, founded in 1259 by Hulagu, brother of the Great Khan Kubilai, and comprising Persia, Irak Arabi, Mesopotamia, Armenia, became dismembered before a century had elapsed. Abu Said, a descendant of Hulagu in the fourth degree, 1317–35, was the last of the Ilkhans who exercised absolute authority in the empire. Five Ilkhans reigned after him; and during their short reigns the empire broke into fragments, and the single provinces became independent. Finally, Timur subjugated all Western Asia, and reduced the petty rulers of Khorassan, Mazanderan, Fars, &c., to obedience. Sultan Ahmed Jelair, whose father, likewise a descendant of Hulagu, had founded, after Abu Said's death, a new dynasty in Bagdad, and who had taken also possession of Azerbeidjan, passed the latter part of his life, from the year 1384, in an ineffectual struggle with Timur and his successors, and at length, in 1410, was taken prisoner and put to death by Kara Yusuf, the valiant Turkoman chief and ruler of Kurdistan.

North of the Middle Empire, and also north of the empire of the Ilkhans, was the *Desht Kipchak*, the dominions assigned by Chinghiz khan to his eldest son, Djuchi. Desht Kipchak occupied the vast steppe lands stretching east and north of Lake Aral, a part of modern Siberia, the land north of the Caspian Sea, and on both sides of the Lower Volga, and, after Batu's conquest, covered also a large part of Southern Russia. This vast empire was from the beginning, *i.e.*, after Djuchi's death in 1225, divided into two main sections. The one subject to Djuchi's eldest son, *Orda*, dominated in the East, and was known under the name of the *White Horde*, whilst the western part of the Khanate, the *Golden Horde*, was ruled over by Orda's brother, *Batu*, the conqueror of Russia, who since about 1254 had his residence in *Sarai*, on the Lower Volga. In the second half of the thirteenth century another branch of Djuchi's lineage acquired authority in the *Crimea*, and subsequently founded there a powerful Khanate, which subsisted down to the end of the last century. The rival families of the White Horde and the Crimean branch kept up a struggle for the throne of Sarai for a long time. Princes of both houses ruled there alternately according to the chance of their arms. Timur during the whole of his reign was almost constantly at feud with *Toktamish*, who then ruled over Desht Kipchak, and belonged to the Crimean branch. In 1502 *Mengli Girai*, the sovereign of the Crimean Horde, dispersed the Golden Horde of Sarai, and thus delivered Russia from the Mongol yoke. The

Khanate of *Kazan*, which had been founded in 1439 on the relics of the Bolgarian Empire by the Mongol prince Ulugh Mohammed, was, after a long struggle, definitively crushed by the Russian arms in 1552.

There was yet another branch of the house of Djuchi in Central Asia, which became famous in the fifteenth century under the name of *Uzbegs*. They formed the special heritage of *Sheiban*, the fifth son of Djuchi. His original dominions seem to have been contiguous to those of the White Horde. The real founder of the power of the Uzbegs was *Abulkhair*, a descendant of Sheiban in the sixth degree. He was born in 1413, and expelled the White Horde from their original seats. The latter then were received by the Khan of Moghulistan, who gave to the Khans of the White Horde some territories on the western limits of Moghulistan, on the river *Chu*. The people of the White Horde there were subsequently named *Kasaks*. Abulkhair conquered Khovarezm, and extended his dominions also over Turkestan. His son *Sheibani* in the beginning of the sixteenth century made himself master of Samarkand and Transoxiana, and some years later succeeded in driving the Timurids out also of Khorassan. The important states founded by the Uzbegs in that period in Transoxiana and Khovarezm subsisted down to the occupation of these tracts by the Russians, and partly still exist there.

Soon after the Ming dynasty had established its power over the Middle Kingdom, the Chinese emperors did not tarry to extend their reputation by land and sea [880] to the farthest extremities of the world known to them. *Hung wu,* the first Ming emperor (1368–99) was particularly anxious to be on good terms with *Timur* or *Tamerlan,* whose rising power at that time began to alarm the sovereigns of Asia. The Chinese annals record several embassies sent by Hung wu to Timur, who did not fail to send in return his envoys with presents to Hung wu. But finally Timur determined to make war on China. As is known, the great conqueror died at Otrar in February 1405, just when he was about to move out on the expedition against the emperor of China. In the same Chinese annals Timur's son, Shah Rok, ruler of Herat, is stated to have repeatedly despatched embassies to the Chinese court in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The Chinese envoys who went to Samarkand and Herat in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries visited also a number of other places and countries on their way thither and beyond, and it seems that from the reports of these Chinese envoys the accounts found in the history of the Ming with respect to the countries in the West have been compiled.

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[880] As to the intercourse which existed during the Ming period between China and foreign countries reached by sea, it dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. In 1405 *Yung lo*, the third Ming emperor, 1403–1425, sent one of his eunuchs, *Cheng Ho*, to make inquiries about the emperor's nephew *Kien wen*, dethroned by Yung lo, and suspected to have hidden himself somewhere in the countries beyond the sea. Yung lo felt uneasy about his disappearance. Cheng Ho was accompanied by a

vast fleet and a large force. On his expeditions, several times repeated in the space of about thirty years (see his biography, Ming shi, chap. ccciv.), he visited a number of kingdoms situated on the Indian Ocean up to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and the eastern coast of Africa, and obtained the nominal allegiance of their rulers.

The Chinese accounts of these countries, gathered during the expeditions of Cheng Ho, have been in part translated and annotated by several distinguished sinologues. Some translations by Father Amiot from the Ming shi, relating to the kingdoms of Southern Asia, are found in vol. xiv. (1789) of the "Mémoires concern. les Chinois." In 1874 the late W. F. Mayers published in the "China Review," iii. 219, 321, two interesting papers on the subject, with the title, "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the Fifteenth Century." Two years later Mr. W. P. Groeneveldt wrote his valuable "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca," in which he has brought together all the information found in Chinese works regarding the Indian Archipelago. Lastly, Mr. G. Phillips has recently undertaken to continue the translations commenced by Mayers, and two of his most ably written papers on the "Seaports of India and Ceylon described by Chinese Voyagers" have already appeared in the Journ. Ch. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. xx., xxi.

In the *Ye hu pien*, a collection of miscellaneous memoirs,[881] published in 1606, chap. ix., we read as follows:—

The *Si yu sheng lan shi* (poems written on the curious things seen on a travel to the West) was composed by *An.*[882] The author's friend, who published the book, states in the preface that An had the cognomen *Chi tao,* and that he was one of the most remarkable men of Northern China. In the year 1395 he was sent by the emperor Hung wu to *Sa-ma-rh-han* (Samarkand). He accompanied the envoy of the ruler of that country (Timur), who returned from China home. They proceeded from *Kia yü kuan*[883] 800 *li*, crossed the *Liu sha* (moving sands),[884] and after travelling 2000 *li* arrived at *Ha-mi-li* (Kamul, Hami). After this they went through the *Han hai*[885] 1300 *li* to ancient *Kao ch'ang.*[886] Farther westward they reached *I-la-ba-li* (Ilibalik). Hence all rivers flow to the west. Farther on 3000 *li*, *Sa-ma-rh-han* (Samarkand) was reached. The ruler of that country and his ministers boasted of the great extent of their dominions, and sent the Chinese envoy to visit the most remarkable places of the empire. An officer was appointed to accompany him. Travelling westward, they reached *T'ao-lo-sz'* (Tauris or Tabriz).

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[881] See W. Schott, "Verzeichniss der Chines., &c., Bücher und Handschr. der Bibliothek zu Berlin," 1840, p. 77.

[882] In the Ming shi this envoy *An* is frequently mentioned.

[883] This is still the name of a fortress near the termination of the Great Wall, in the Chinese province of Kan su. For nearly 2000 years *Kia yü kuan*, or rather *Yü men kuan*, which lies farther north-west, were the starting-points for Chinese travellers and military expeditions proceeding to Central and Western Asia. See also note 937.

[884] This is the Chinese name applied since the remotest time of Chinese history to the sandy desert stretching west and north-west of Kia yü kuan. See also note 47.

[885] An ancient name for the north-western part of the Mongolian desert. See note 9. Here in this case the appellation *Han hai* is extended also over the country west of Hami.

[886] Ancient *Kao chang* answers the present *Karakhodjo*, east of Turfan. See note 153. I must observe that the figures in the Chinese itinerary show considerable (evidently clerical) errors. As we shall see farther on, the Ming shi estimates the distance between Kia yü kuan and Ḳamul at 1600 *li*, and between Hami and Turfan at more than 1000 *li*.

After this they visited *I-sz'-bu-han* (Ispahan), and then proceeded southward to *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz). On their way back they passed by *Hei-lu* (Herat) and other cities. They had travelled over more than 10,000 *li*, and when they returned to Samarkand they had been absent six years. As *An Chi tao* was not disposed to agree with the propositions of the ruler of Samarkand, he was retained by force. It was only after his (Timur's) death (February 1405) that An Chi tao was allowed to return home. According to the Ming shi, this Chinese envoy returned home in 1407, after twelve years' absence. Subsequently An Chi tao was again entrusted with missions to the western countries.

There are two records of European travellers corroborating in some way the above Chinese statements. *Clavijo*, the well-known Castilian ambassador, who sojourned at the court of Timur from September 8 to November 21, 1404, states (see Markham's transl. 133 *seq.*) :—

"The Emperor *Chuyscan*, Lord of Cathay, had sent to Timur Beg to demand the yearly tribute which was formerly paid. When Timur (on an audience he gave the foreign ambassadors) saw the ambassadors (Clavijo, &c.) seated below the Cathayan ambassador, he sent to order that they should sit above him; those who came from the king of Spain, his son and friend, were not to sit below the envoy of a thief and scoundrel who was Timur's enemy. This emperor of Cathay is called *Chuyscan*, which means 'nine empires,' but the Zagatays called him *Tangus*, which means 'pig emperor.'[887] He is the lord of a great country, and Timur Beg used to pay him tribute, but he refuses to do so now. . . ."

On p. 173 Clavijo speaks again of the same Chinese embassy: "When the Lord (Timur) had returned to Samarkand after an absence of seven years (war in Western Asia), the ambassadors from Cathay arrived, with orders to say that the Lord held that land subject to the emperor of Cathay, and to demand the payment of tribute every year, as it was seven years since any had been paid. The Lord answered that it was true, but that he would not pay it. This tribute had not been paid for nearly eight years, nor had the emperor of Cathay sent for it, and the reason why he did not send for it was that this emperor died."[888] After this Clavijo gives a somewhat confused and incorrect account of the struggle which ensued between the sons of the emperor, and then continues: "As soon as the middle brother (second son of Hung wu[889]) reigned alone and was quietly established in his own empire, he sent these ambassadors to Timur Beg, to demand the tribute which was formerly paid to his father. But we did not hear whether he resented the answer given by Timur. . . . *Cambalu*, the chief city of Cathay, is six months from Samarkand, two of which are passed in crossing an uninhabited land, never visited by any one but shepherds, who wander with their flocks in search of pasture. In this year (1404) as many as 800 camels, laden with merchandise, came from Cambalu to Samarkand in the month of June. When Timur heard what the ambassadors from Cathay had demanded, he ordered these camels to be detained, and we saw the men who came with the camels."

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[887] *Tangus* means "pig" in Turkish. See also note 1063.

J. Shildberger, a Bavarian, who seems to have been at Samarkand at the same time with Clavijo, states with reference to the same Chinese embassy (edit. Neumann, p. 81): "Now at this time, when Thämerlin had returned after twelve years' absence, had the Great Khan, the King of *Chetey*, sent an envoy to Thämerlin with 400 horses, and demanded the tribute which he had neglected to pay for five years past. So Thämerlin took the envoy with him to Semerchent. Then sent he the envoy away, and bid him tell his master he would be no tributary nor vassal of his, and he would come to him in person. And then he sent off despatches throughout his dominions to make ready, for he would march against *Cetay*. And so, when he had gathered 1,800,000 men, he marched for a whole month, and then came to a desert seventy days' journey long. Many people and horses died from want of water. It was also exceedingly cold. Therefore Thämerlin returned to his capital, where he was taken ill and died."

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[888] Emperor Hung wu died in 1399, and was succeeded by his grandson, Kien wen, 1399–1403.

[889] Yung lo, who in 1403 dethroned his nephew, Kien wen.

Another Chinese embassy to the west, about ten years later, is recorded in the Ming History, chap. cccxxxii. fol. 9, in the following terms :—

In the year 1415 *Ch‘en Ch‘eng* returned home from the *Si yü* (Western countries). He had visited the following seventeen kingdoms or places: [890] —

Ha mi (Kamul).
Liu ch‘eng (Lukchak).
Ho chou (Karakhodjo).
T‘u-lu-fan (Turfan).
Bie-shi-ba-li (Bishbalik).
Sai-lan (Sairam).
Yang-yi (Yanghikend).
Ta-shi-kan (Tashkend).
Sha-lu-hai-ya (Shahrokhia).
Sa-ma-rh-han (Samarkand).
K‘o-shi (Kash or Kesh).
Bu-hua-rh (Bokhara).
Ha-lie (Heri or Herat).
An-du-huai (Andhui).
Tie-li-mi (Termed).
Ba-da-hei-shang (Badakhshan).
Y en tse (Salt marsh). This is an ancient name for Lopnor.

Ch‘en Ch‘eng had procured information regarding the mountains, rivers, products, customs, &c., of these countries. He published these accounts in a book which he entitled *Shi Si yü ki*, Record of an embassy to the countries in the West.[891]

The *Huang ming ta cheng ki*, a work published in 1567, and treating of important matters referring to the Ming dynasty, records the same embassy of *Ch‘en Ch‘eng*, stating that he proceeded from *Su chou* (in the province of Kan su) by *Kia yü kuan* to *Ha mi*, and then enumerates the same countries and places as mentioned in the above list, with the only exception that we find there the name of *I-li-ba-li* instead of *Bie-shi-ba-li.*[892] Besides this, in the same account *Yü t'ien* (Khotan) appears among the places visited by Ch'en Ch'eng. Thus we may conclude that he returned to China *via* Badakhshan, Khotan, Lopnor.

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[890] Further details regarding these countries will be found in the next chapter.

[891] This account seems to be still extant. It is noticed in the Catalogue of the Imperial Chinese Library at Peking, Sz' k‘u ts‘üan shu, chap. lxiv. fol. 5.

There were two other Chinese envoys sent to Western Asia, whose names occur frequently in the Ming shi, viz., *Li Ta* and *Li Kui*. The first was sent thither in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the second about 1432. The name of *Li Ta* appears in one of the letters addressed by the Chinese emperor to Shah Rok in about 1417, which letter had been translated into Persian by Abd-er-razzak, and of which W. Chambers has given an English version in the "Asiatic Miscellany," i. 1785 (see farther on).

The principal Chinese source of information with respect to the countries of Asia and their political intercourse with the Middle Kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the *Ming shi* or History of the Ming Dynasty, which reigned 1368–1644. At the end of this bulky work we find twelve chapters, 320–332, devoted to foreign countries which had intercourse with China in that period.

Accounts of foreign countries are also given in the *Ta Ming I tung chi*, the great Geography of the Ming Empire. The edition to which I always refer bears the date of A.D. 1461. In the chaps. lxxxix. and xc. some interesting geographical details on the countries of Asia known to the Chinese in that period are found. The compilers of the Ming shi and of the Ming Geography had evidently different sources of information. However, the statements in both works are not in contradiction with, but rather complete, each other. I shall generally confine myself for my investigations to the Ming shi and the Ming Geography, although there are besides these works many other Chinese books published in the Ming period, and treating of foreign countries.

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[892] We shall see farther on that in the days of the Ming these names denoted the same country (the empire of the Jetes, Moghulistan).

The *Kuang yü ki*, an abbreviated geography of the Ming empire, published about the commencement of the seventeenth century, has also two sections on border-lands and foreigners.[893]

I may mention also the *Tsien k'io lei shu*, published in 1632. The 11th and 14th chapters treat of the bordering countries and foreign nations.

In the "Mémoires conc. les Chinois," vol. xiv., 1789, p. 238–308, Father Amiot translated a collection of credentials from a number of Asiatic sovereigns who had sent their envoys to the Chinese court, and also supplications from these envoys. Amiot had forwarded to Paris the Chinese texts from which he translated, together with a copy of the original letters, written in different Asiatic languages. Rémusat, in his "Mél. Asiat.," ii. 249, comments upon these documents. He was mistaken with respect to their origin, stating that these letters had been addressed to the Emperor Kang hi of the present dynasty. Amiot himself does not appear to have known to what period these documents belonged; but even a superficial perusal of the latter leaves no doubt that all these letters had been written in the fifteenth century, and were addressed to the Ming emperors. They are preserved in the *Sz' yi kuan*, a book published in the fifteenth century in the linguistic office at Peking, established in 1407 for diplomatic purposes.

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[893] A new edition of this work was published in 1803. It professes to be enlarged and revised, but as to the political division of the empire, and the names of the provinces and cities, nothing has been changed. Thus E. Biot, in his "Dictionnaire des Villes et Arrondissements dans l'Empire Chinois," 1842, which he compiled from the Kuang yü ki, was mistaken in assuming that he translated a Chinese geography of the present dynasty.

In order to turn to advantage the light opened up by the Chinese annalists and geographers of the Ming period with respect to the history and geography of Central and Western Asia, we shall have to compare these generally scanty accounts with the statements of Western historians and travellers on the same subject.

Valuable matter in illustration of the history of Central Asia, and especially of the Khans of Moghulistan (Jetes), is found in W. Erskine's "History of India under Baber and Humayun," 1854, i. 35–68, 537–540. Erskine translates chiefly from the *Tarikhi Rashidi*, written about 1544 by Haider Mirza Doglat, who was himself descended from the princes of Moghulistan. Erskine gives the whole history of the Djagatai dynasty (Middle Empire) in Moghulistan and Kashgar down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

The History of the Khans of the Middle Empire in Transoxiana, down to the accession of Timur to the throne at Samarkand, has been translated by Défremery from the Habib essiyer of Khondemir (+ 1535), in the "Journal Asiatique," 4^e série, xix. xx., 1852.

The History of the Great Timur and his conquests was written by *Maulana Sherif-eddin Ali of Yezd.* This work, which he called *Zafer nameh*, or the "Book of Victory," was completed in 1424. It is, as the author states in the preface, founded upon the records of passing events written down by the Uigur scribes, who always accompanied Timur. The Zafer nameh is well known in Europe by the very fair and accurate translation of *Pétis de la Croix* (+ 1713). His *Histoire de Timour Bec* was published by his son in 1722, in 4 vols. This translation is accompanied with five detailed maps, but we are without explanation by the author as to the sources of his information. The maps referring to Transoxiana and Moghulistan are utterly incorrect, and leave no doubt that he was chiefly drawing on his imagination. The French version of the Zafer nameh was translated into English by J. Darby in

1723, in 2 vols. This history of Timur is, besides its great historical importance, a rich mine of information with respect to the mediæval geography of Asia.

There is a Persian MS. of the seventeenth century by Abu Talib Husseini, professing to be a Persian translation of Timur's Autobiographical Memoirs (*Malfuzat-i Timuri*), in which Timur had recorded the events of his life in the Djagatai Turki language. In 1830 Major Ch. Stewart translated a part of this Persian text, which in his copy concluded with the year 1375. The British Museum now possesses a complete copy of the MS., extending to the year of Timur's death. This belonged to the Royal Library at Lucknow. Elliot, in his "History of India," 1871, iii. 394 *seq.*, translated from it the chapter referring to Timur's expedition to India. Mr. Ch. Rieu, in his "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts," i. 177, 178, considers the authenticity of these Memoirs of Timur to be open to serious objections.

There is another history of Timur, written by *Ahmed Ibn Mohammed*, with the surname *Arab Shah*, a native of Damascus, where he died in 1450. He was the preceptor of the Othoman Sultan Murad II. This book, which he wrote in Arabic, bears the title *Ajaib al Mukhlukat*, or "Wonders of the Creation." It has been edited in the Arabic text by Golius in 1636, translated into French by P. Vattier in 1658, and into Latin by Manger in 1767. Arab Shah's history of the great conqueror has no claims to be considered a work of historical value, being more a coarse satire on that prince than his history. It contains an interesting description of the Desht Kipchak. See Manger's transl., vol. i. chap. xlv.

Abd-er-razzak, 1413–83, wrote the history of Timur's son, Shah Rok, and of his great-grandson, Abu Said. Quatremère in 1843 undertook to translate this work, the *Matla-assaadein*, &c., into French, but his translation, published in the "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits, &c.," XIV. i., gives only a part of the life of Shah Rok, and concludes with the year 1421.

A complete history of the Timurids, down to the overthrow of this dynasty in Transoxiana and Khorassan by the Uzbegs in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is given in the *Rauzat-us-Safa* and in the *Khulasat-ul-Akhbar*, the works of the great historians *Mirkhond* (+ 1498) and his grandson *Khondemir* (+ 1535). These records have been translated by Major D. Price in his valuable work "Chronological Retrospect of Mohammedan History," vol. iii., 1821.

One of the descendants of Timur, the famous *Sultan Baber*, after being driven out from his patrimony, Ferghana, by the Uzbegs, and after several fruitless attempts to establish his power in Transoxiana, succeeded in conquering Kabul, and in about 1520 made himself master of Northern India, where he became the founder of the mighty Moghul dynasty, which up to the beginning of the nineteenth century held imperial sway in India. Baber died in 1530; his *Memoirs*, the *Baber nameh*, written in the Djagatai Turki language, have come down to us in this original composition and in a Persian translation. They are remarkable for the ability and the judgment with which they were written. The author supplies a mass of most valuable information regarding the political events of his time, in which he had taken so large a share. Besides this, his records deserve special attention on account of the interesting geographical details they contain referring to Ferghana, Transoxiana, Khorassan, Kabul, and Northern India. The Baber nameh was translated into English from the Persian version by J. Leyden and W. Erskine in 1826. A French translation from the original Turki work was published in 1871, in 2 vols., by an accomplished French orientalist, M. Pavet de Courteille. It is to this edition that my quotations of Baber's Memoirs always refer.

As to the journeys by land from Western to Eastern Asia made within the Ming period by Western travellers, I rely upon Colonel H. Yule's admirable work, "Cathay and the Way Thither," 1866, in which the erudite author has brought together, with that critical judgment we are accustomed to meet in his writings, a great amount of Asiatic documents bearing upon the mediæval geography of Asia, little known or unknown in Europe before, and where he reviews also the reports of some Mohammedan travellers who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries went to China by land.

The most important of these narratives is that written by *Gaïatheddin Nakkash* on the mission *Mirza Shah Rok*, the son of Timur, sent to the *Emperor of China*, 1419–22 A.D. It has been preserved in Abd-er-razzak's History of Shah Rok (*v. supra*) and in Mirkhond's Rauzat-us-Safa. A good French translation of it from Abd-er-razzak's account was published by Quatremère in his History of Shah Rok (Not. et Extr., XIV. i. p. 387–426). Yule, in his "Cathay," cxcix., presented an English version of Quatremère's translation. Mr. Rehatsek published an original English translation of the same narrative as given by Mirkhond ("Indian Antiquary," ii. 1873).

Much earlier, W. Chambers had published in the "Asiatic Miscellany," i. 1785, p. 71 *seq.*, an interesting article with the title "*An Account of Embassies* and *Letters* that passed between the *Emperor of China* and *Sultan Shah Rokh*, son of Amir Timur." Chambers translated from Abd-er-razzak's Matla-assaadeïn. Of great interest in this account are several letters the Chinese emperor had addressed to Shah Rok in Chinese with a Persian translation. The latter is given by Abd-er-razzak, and Chambers turned these letters into English.

On p. ccxiv. Colonel Yule's "Cathay" gives *Hajji Mahomed's Account of Cathay* and the overland route thither (about A.D. 1550), and on p. ccxx. the report on the same subject by a Turkish Dervish (c. 1560).

A more detailed account of Cathay, referring to the end of the fifteenth century, which has not been noticed by

Yule, is found in the *Khitai nameh,* written in Persian by *Seid Ali Ekber*, a Mohammedan merchant who had spent some time in Peking, and who wrote this book in 1516 at Constantinople. He gives in it the narrative of his journey overland and of his sojourn in Northern China. The well-known French orientalist Ch. Shefer possesses a complete MS. copy of this interesting account, and in the "Mélanges Orientaux," 2ième série, vol. ix., 1883, p. 31–67, translated some chapters of it. Before him Mr. Zenker, a German orientalist, had given an abstract of the Turkish version of the book in the "Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.," xv., 1861, p. 785.

It does not seem that after *Marignolli,* who, on his way to Khanbalik (Peking) in circa A.D. 1340, crossed Central Asia, any European traveller arrived in China overland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The next who after Marignolli reports again on these tracts is *B. Goes.* He went in the beginning of the seventeenth century from India through the land of the Upper Oxus to Eastern Turkestan, arrived at the Chinese city of *Su chou,* where he died in 1607. Goes first established the fact that Kathay and China are the same. His narrative has been most ably reviewed by Colonel Yule. In 1879 the Jesuit Father Brucker published in the "Études Religieuses" at Lyon a very valuable paper on the journey of Goes. He gives some hitherto unpublished letters written by Goes during his journey, which throw new light upon his travel.

No indication of ancient political or other intercourse between *Russia* and *China* previous to the beginning of the seventeenth century is found either in the Russian annals or in any other ancient document. It was only in 1581 that the valiant Yermak took *Sibir*, the capital of the Tatar Khan Kuchum, situated 16 versts above Tobolsk on the Irtysh, and it does not seem that the knowledge possessed by the Russians at that time of the northern part of the Asiatic continent extended farther east than the River Irtysh and the valley of the Lower and Middle Syrdaria. It is, therefore, very curious to find Russians mentioned in Northern China in about 1543 by *F. M. Pinto.* This Portuguese adventurer and pirate, who had been taken prisoner by the Chinese and condemned to hard labour in the province of Shen si, was finally set at liberty by the King of Tartary (Mongols), who had made an inroad upon China. While he was with his liberator at the city of Tuymican (?), several Asiatic chiefs and their envoys arrived there. I may quote from Figuier's French translation (1628), chap. cxxiv., of Pinto's narrative the somewhat obscure passage referring to these embassies :—

"L'autre estoit le roy thes *Mogores*, dont l'estat est dans le cœur du païs près des *Corazones* (Khorassan ?) province proche de Perse et le royaume de *Dely* et de *Chitor*, et un empereur nommé Caran, selon nous l'avons appris icy, a les bornes de sa souverainete dans les montagnes de *Goncalidan*, à 60 dégrez plus avant, avec des hommes que ceux du païs appellent *Moscovites*, desquels nous en vismes quelques uns en cette ville, qui sont blonds, de belle taille, et vestus de hauts de chausses, de casaques et de chappeaux, commes les Flamans et les Suisses que nous voyons en Europe, dont les plus honorables avoient des robes fourrées de peaux et les autres de martres sebellines. Ils portaient tous des espées larges et grandes, et nous remarquâmes qu'en leur language ils usoient de quelques mots latins, même qu'en baillant ils repetoient par trois fois : Dominus ! Dominus ! Dominus ! ce qui sembloit avoir en eux plus d'apparence d'idolatrie que de religion et ce qu'il y avait de pire en eux estoit le detestable pesché de sodomie, auquel ils estoient grandement addonnéz."

The statement about the yawning leaves no doubt that Pinto saw genuine Russians. It is still the custom among the common people in Russia to make the sign of the cross upon themselves when yawning and to invocate God.

The first recorded Russian intercourse with China dates from the reign of the Tzar Michael Fedorowich, by whose order, in 1620, *Ivan Petlin*, a Kozak of Tomsk, was despatched to get information about the great river *Ob* and the kingdom of *Kitai* (China). Petlin, on his return, put down a report on his journey with a much detailed itinerary. The original of it is found in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. It was published *in extenso* in 1818 by Spassky in the Sibirsky vestnik (in Russian). Previously Bergeron (+ 1639) in his "Traité des Tartares," p. 106, and Fischer, in his "History of Siberia," 1774, p. 267, had given incomplete and incorrect accounts of Petlin's mission. Petlin from Tomsk proceeded southward to the river *Abakan* (a western affluent of the Yenissei), went to the river *Kemchik* (Upper Yenissei), and farther on reached a great lake (the *Upsa nor*), on which was the encampment of the (Mongol) Altyn Khan. Continuing his route, he came to the encampment of Chasaktu Khan (which in our days lies about a hundred English miles south of Uliassutai), and then crossed the western part of the Mongolian desert. He came out, it seems, at the present *Kukukhoto*, and passed the Great Wall, which he styles the Chinese *krym* (*krem* or *kreml* in the ancient Russian language denotes a wall with embrasures). Finally, he reached the *White City*, situated on the *Yü ho* (Peking. Yü ho is still the name of one of the principal canals which traverse Peking). Inside of this city was another which he terms *Magnit* city, in which the Tzar Taibun (Tai Ming ?) lived (evidently the imperial city). Petlin did not see the Tzar Taibun, for he had not brought with him presents. After this Petlin returned home.

ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA,

DRAWN FROM THE MING SHI AND THE TA MING I T'UNG CHI.

As has been noticed above, the Ming History has a section of thirteen chapters (cccxx.–cccxxxii.) devoted to Foreign Countries, *Wai kuo.*

These accounts commence with a long article on *Ch'ao sien* or *Kao li,* or Corea, which fills up the whole chapter cccxx.[894]

The next chapter (cccxxi.) treats at length of *An nan* or Annam, the country we generally term Tongking. Compare G. Devéria's very valuable book "Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec l'Annam," 1880.

Chap. cccxxii. is devoted to *Jipen* or Japan.

Chap. cccxxiii. contains more or less detailed accounts of the islands of the Eastern Sea: *Liu kiu,* the Lewchew islands of our maps, between Japan and Formosa, which latter island the Chinese geographers in ancient times comprised in the Liu kiu Archipelago; *Lü-sung,* Luzon or Manilla; *Mei-lo-kü,* where the *ting hiang* (cloves) is produced, the Moluccas, and many other islands.

Chap. cccxxxiv. deals with *Chan-ch'eng* or Champa, *K'un-lun* or Pulo Condore, *Chen-la* or Cambodja, *Sien-lo* or Siam, *Chao-wa* or Java, and other kingdoms.

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[894] In the Ming Geography the article on Corea is followed by a notice of the country of the *Nü-chi,* whose seats were north of Corea (in present Manchuria). They had formerly ruled over Northern China. Their dynasty was known as the *Kin* or Golden, A.D. 1115–1234. See note 574. The same race gave subsequently to China the actually reigning Manchu dynasty.

In chap. cccxxxv. we find accounts of *Po-ni* or Bruni, Borneo, *Man-la-kia* or Malacca, *Su-men-ta-la* or Sumatra, *Su-lu* or Sulu islands, *P'eng-heng* or Pahang, on the eastern coast of the Malay peninsula, *Jou-fu* or Johor. Of the Portuguese and Dutch, whose maritime and commercial supremacy in the East in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries extended even to China and Japan, mention is made in the same chapter under the names of *Fo-lang-ki* (Franks) and *Ho-lan* (Holland) or *Hung mao fan* (red-haired barbarians).

Chap. cccxxvii. describes the rest of the countries situated on the Indian Ocean up to the Arabian Gulf and the African coast, viz., *Ku-li*, the great rendezvous of foreigners, as the Ming shi states, seems to be Kalicut, on the Malabar coast (but Yule says perhaps Kayal). *Ko-chi* is Cochin, on the same coast. Little and Great *Ko-lan;* one of them seems to denote Coilam, an important mediæval port on the coast of Malabar. *Si-lan,* remarkable for a curious mark of Buddha's foot on a mountain, is without doubt Ceylon (Adam's Peak). *Bang-k'o-la* is Bengal. *Jao-na-pu-rh,* in Middle *In-du* (Hindustan), is Zuangpur. The kingdoms *Dsu-fa-rh, Mu-gu-du-su, Bu-la-wa* can easily be identified with Dsahfar, on the south coast of Arabia; Mogedoxu and Brawa, both on the east coast of Africa. After this the same chapter notices *A-dan* or Aden, *La sa* or L'Ahsa on the Persian Gulf; *Hu-lu-mu-sz'* or Ormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.[895] The section on Western Countries reached by sea concludes with an article on *Fo-lin* (Byzantine Empire; see note 391) and other European countries, and an account of the Jesuit missionaries who had come to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the above brief summary of the contents I have only given those names that I was able to identify. These countries do not fall within the limits of my notices.

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[895] See above p. 130, where a translation of the account of Ormuz in the Ming shi has been given.

The chapters cccxxvii.–cccxxxii. deal with the countries situated north and west of China and reached by land. These form the basis of my investigations in the subsequent pages.

THE MONGOLS AND THE OIRATS IN THE MING PERIOD.

The whole chapter cccxxvii. of the Ming shi is devoted to the history of the Mongols after their expulsion from China, and in the next chapter a long article on the *Wa-la,* Oirats or Western Mongols, appears.

The history of these *Oirats* of the Mongol annalists, subsequently known also under the name of *Kalmuks, Eleuths, Dsungars,* is very imperfectly known, and the origin of these appellations is also quite obscure.

Besides the Chinese sources of information regarding the history of the Mongols and the Oirats as found in the Ming shi, there exists an indigenous Mongol chronicle, the *Altan tobchi,* in which the Oirats and their intercourse with the Eastern Mongols are frequently spoken of. Two MS. copies of this rare document had been procured by the Russian missionaries at Peking, and the learned Lama Galsan Gamboyeff, Professor at the University of Kazan, published the Mongol text of it together with a Russian version in vol. vi. of the "Journal of the Russian Archæological Society," 1858. The *Altan tobchi* (Epitome aurea), or properly *Erdenin tobchi* (which has nearly the same meaning), is a much confused record of the history of the Mongols down to the sixteenth century, and generally difficult to understand. We meet in it with a great profusion of names of men, places, and events recorded incoherently, and in most of the cases we are embarrassed what to make of these stories and to decide to what period they are intended to refer. However, a comparison of the Altan tobchi with the Chinese historical accounts respecting the Mongols enables us to detect in it a nucleus of authenticity. *Sanang Setsen,* a Mongol prince, who in

1662 completed his *History of the Mongols* (translated into German by I. J. Schmidt, 1829), relied for the period in question generally upon the Altan tobchi.

I would observe, before examining the records found in the Ming history with respect to the Wa-la or Oirats, that the existence of a tribe of this name can be traced back to the very beginning of the thirteenth century. In the Yüan shi the Oirats are termed *Wei-la* or *Wa-i-la;* in the Mongol annals of the thirteenth century (Yüan ch'ao p'i shi), *Oira* or *Wan Oira.* In the Yüan shi annals, *s. a.* 1204, the *Ta-shi Wei-la* are stated to have made a league with the *Naiman* and other tribes against Chinghiz Khan. Ibidem, *s. a.* 1208, the submission of the *Wa-i-la* to Chinghiz is reported. That by Ta-shi Wei-la and Wa-i-la the same tribe is meant, namely, the Oirats, is corroborated by Rashid-eddin, for the Persian historian reports under the same afore-mentioned years the league and the submission of the Oirats (d'Ohsson, i. 86, 104). In another chapter, where Rashid reviews the tribes of the Mongols, he states that the Oirats had their seats on eight rivers which unite and then form the river *Kem* (or Yenissei). *L. c.* i. 424; Berezin, i. 79. At the time of the Ming the territory occupied by the Oirats extended farther to the south-west. I may finally say that the *Horiads* of M. Polo (i. 291) and the *Voyrats* of Plano Carpini (631, 708) are evidently the same Oirats.

The Mongols are styled *Ta-ta* (Tatars) and also *Meng-gu*[896] in the Ming shi. The history of the Mongols properly does not enter into the programme of my investigations, but in treating of the *Wa-la* or Oirats I cannot forbear touching also upon the Mongols, who in the fifteenth century for many years were ruled by princes of the Wa-la.

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[896] Even now-a-days the Mongols are called *Meng-gu* by the Chinese; but it seems the other name has also partly survived in the popular language, which terms the Mongols *Ta tz'*.

The Great Geography of the Ming (1461) states that the territories of the *Ta-ta* (or Mongols) extend to the east to *Wu-liang-ha* (south-eastern corner of Mongolia; see farther on), and border in the west upon *T'o-hu-ma*[897] and *Sa-ma-rh-kan* (Samarkand). To the north they terminate with the desert *Sha-mo*. Regarding the *Wa-la* the same work says only that they live north-west of the desert *Sha-mo*.

The account of the Oirats in the Ming shi begins as follows :—

The *Wa-la* are a Mongol tribe and live west of the Mongols. (In the article Ha-mi, farther on, it is stated that they lived north of Ha-mi, *i.e.*, beyond the T'ien shan.) After the expulsion of the Mongols from China (A.D. 1368), a high officer of that dynasty, by name *Meng-k'o T'ie-mu-rh*, had placed himself at the head of the Wa-la, and when he died the people split into three tribes,[898] the chiefs of which were called *Ma-ha-mu* (Mahmud),[899] *T'ai-p'ing*, and *Ba-t'u P'o-lo*. When the Ming dynasty had established its power in China, these three chiefs of the Wa-la sent embassies with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1409 emperor Yunglo bestowed upon them the title *wang* (prince), and named Ma-ha-mu = *Shun ning wang*, T'ai-p'ing = *Hien yi wang*, and Ba-t'u P'o-lo = *An lo wang*. The Wa-la seem to have been on good terms with the Chinese; they sent frequently embassies. But subsequently, when the Wa-la princes ruled also over the Eastern Mongols, they repeatedly attacked China.

Before continuing the history of the Wa-la, I give an abstract of the history of the Mongols according to the Ming shi.

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[897] The ancient Mongol chronicle designates by the name of *Togmak* the Desht Kipchak or the Khanate of the Golden Horde. See Howorth's "Mongols," ii. 283.

[898] Sanang Setzen enumerates four Oirat tribes, *Durben Oirat*, which means the four allies or confederates in Mongol. See farther on.

[899] This name and that of Ismaila Taidji, which occurs in the Altan tobchi as that of an Oirat chief, seem to prove that in the period here spoken of Islam was spreading among the Oirats.

When the *Yüan* or Mongol dynasty had been overthrown (A.D. 1368) by the Ming, the last Mongol ruler (Togan temur or Shun ti) escaped from his capital (Peking) and fled to Mongolia. He went first to *K'ai p'ing fu* (or *Shang tu*), the summer residence of the Mongol emperors, and not feeling safe there, afterwards continued his flight to *Ying chang*,[900] where he died in the spring of 1370, leaving the Mongol throne to his son *Ai-yu-shi-li-da-la*.[901] Soon after the host of the Ming arrived before Ying ch'ang, the Mongol emperor succeeded in escaping and fled to *Ho-lin*,[902] but his son *Mai-di-li-ba-la* was captured, as were also the late emperor's wives. In 1372 the Ming emperor despatched a considerable army under the command of his generalissimo *Sü Ta* against the Mongols. Sü Ta proceeded to the *Lu k'ü* river,[903] and advanced even as far as the *T'u-la* and the *A-lu-hun* rivers.[904] But he was beaten by the Mongols. Ai-yu-shi-li-da-la died in 1378. His son *T'o-gu-sz' T'ie-mu-rh*[905] succeeded him, and the Ming emperor sent him an envoy to congratulate him on his accession. Subsequently the Mongols frequently disturbed the Chinese frontier. In 1388 the Chinese emperor sent out a great host against them. T'o-gu-sz' T'ie-mu-rh was completely defeated near Lake *Pu yü rh hai,*[906] and fled towards Karakorum. When he had gone as far as the *T'u-la* river he was killed by *Ye-su-t'ie-rh,* a man of his suite.

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[900] This city was situated on Lake Taal nor, in South-Eastern Mongolia. See note 114.

[901] Sanang Setzen calls him *Biliktu Khakan* (the Wise). See Howorth's "Mongols," i. 341.

[902] *Karakorum*, see note 304. After the expulsion of the Mongols from China it became once more the residence of the Mongol khans. The Ming Geography, 1461, in enumerating the ruined cities of Mongolia, gives the following notice of the ancient Mongol capital at the end of the article on the Ta-ta:—The original name of the city was *Ho-lin*. West of it was the river *Ha-la-ho-lin*, from which the name was derived. T'ai tsu of the Yüan (*i.e.*, Chinghiz) established here his residence. (This seems to be an error; at least the Chinese annals as well as the Persian historians state that Ogotai Khan, in 1234, built Karakorum. It may, however, be that his father had already encamped on the spot.) It was the capital during five reigns. In the reign of Ta te (1297–1308) the province comprising *Ho-lin* and other places was established (in Mongolia) with the circuit (*lu*) of *Ho-lin*, where was the centre of administration. In 1320 the name of the province was changed. It was then called *Ling pei* (the province north of the mountains, *i.e.*, the *Yin shan* chain, separating China proper from Mongolia). The name of the circuit of Ho-lin was also changed into *Ho ning lu*.

[903] This is the Chinese name for the *Kerulun* river in Northern Mongolia. See note 116.

[904] The *Tola* river, on which Urga is situated, and the *Orkhon*.

After this five Mongol sovereigns, all usurpers, reigned successively. Their names are unknown, and they all perished by a violent death. Finally *K'un t'ie-mu-rh*[907] ascended the throne, and after him *Gui-li-ch'i* reigned.[908] He assumed the title *k'o-han* (Khan),[909] and changed the name of the dynasty (from *Yüan*) to *Ta-ta.* This happened in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

At that time mention is first made in the Chinese annals of that powerful Mongol minister *A-lu-t'ai,* who for more than thirty years acted an important part in Mongol history.[910] In 1405 he killed Gui-li-ch'i, and placed *Ben-ya-shi-li,* a descendant of the Yüan emperors, who was then in *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbalik), on the Mongol throne.

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[905] This seems to be the *Ussakhal Khan* of Sanang Setzen. Howorth, *l. c.* i. 355.

[906] The Lake Taal nor, in South-Eastern Mongolia. See note 114. Pu yü rh hai, meaning "fishing-lake," is its Chinese name. Howorth, *l. c.* i. 347, confounds it with Lake *Buyür,* in North-Eastern Mongolia. Buyür is a Mongol name. See note 118.

[907] *Gun Timur Khan* of Sanang Setzen. Howorth, *l. c.*, i. 352.

[908] *Uldjei Timur Khan* of Sanang Setzen. *O. c.* i. 352.

[909] Probably the Mongol sovereigns after their expulsion from China had first continued to call themselves Chinese Emperors.

[910] I. J. Schmidt is disposed to identify A-lu-t'ai of the Chinese annals with the *Aroktai* of Sanang Setzen. The same name occurs also in the Altan tobchi, p. 159, as that of a man of importance, but it is not clear who he was. Father Hyacinth makes A-lu-t'ai to be the progenitor of the Eleuths (see his "Historical Sketch of the Oirats," p. 13). But these views are unfounded. According to the Chinese annals, Tung kien kang mu, translated by De Mailla, A-lu-t'ai subsequently took the title of Khan, and Howorth (*l. c.* i. 356) identifies him with the Mongol Khan *Adai* in Sanang Setzen's record.

The Chinese emperor sent to the Khan, inviting him to acknowledge his supremacy. As Ben-ya-shi-li refused, a large Chinese host marched out in 1408 against the Mongols. Just at that time the Wa-la had got the upper hand at the Mongol court, and Ben-ya-shi-li had retired with his troops, together with his minister, A-lu-t'ai, to the *Lu-kü* (Kerulun river). He was, however, successful, and destroyed a body of Chinese troops in 1409. But in the next year the emperor Yung lo passed in person the Great Wall at the head of half a million of soldiers. Ben-ya-shi-li and his minister could not come to an agreement as to the plan of defence. They separated; the khan went westward, A-lui-t'ai towards the east. The imperial army pursued the khan, and defeated him at the River *Wa-nan* (Onon), and then proceeded to attack his minister, whose army was also destroyed at *Tsing lu chen*. Soon after, *Ma-ha-mu*, the chief of the Wa-la (see above), killed Ben-ya-shi-li and placed on the Mongol throne *Da-li-ba*.[911] A-lu-t'ai in 1413 acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese emperor, who bestowed upon him the title of prince of *Ho ning*. After this he was for his lifetime in constant war with Ma-ha-mu. His appointment by the Chinese emperor displeased Ma-ha-mu, who withheld his tribute and collected an army. The emperor upon this set out at the head of a large army, defeated Ma-ha-mu, and pursued him to the river *T'u-la*. This was in 1414. The next year Ma-ha-mu sent an embassy to the Chinese court and excused himself. In 1416 A-lu-t'ai defeated the Wa-la. When Ma-ha-mu died (in 1418) he was succeeded by his son *T'o-huan*,[912] who continued the strife with A-lu-t'ai. The Chinese emperor bestowed upon T'o-huan his father's title, *Shun ning wang*. In 1422 the

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[911] *Dalbek Khan* in the Altan tobchi, p. 158. See also Howorth, *l. c.* I. 354.

[912] *Togon Taishi* of the Altan tobchi, p. 158.

Wa-la plundered Ha-mi. When the emperor reprimanded them, they sent an embassy and solicited pardon.

A-lu-tʿai tried at first to be on good terms with China, but the emperor did not put great trust in him. Indeed, in 1423 intelligence was received that he was upon the point of making an incursion into China. The emperor then once more marched in person against him. On his way he learnt that A-lu-tʿai had been completely defeated by the Wa-la (Tʿo-huan), and had been obliged to retire to the river *Liao* (Southern Manchuria); whereupon the emperor returned to China. In 1424 the emperor again marched against A-lu-tʿai, who had made a raid into China, but was not successful, for A-lu-tʿai had hastily retired. In 1434 Tʿo-huan succeeded in killing his enemy A-lu-tʿai and subduing his people. At that time Tʿo-huan had already killed the chiefs of the two other branches of the Wa-la and united the whole people of Wa-la. After Da-li-ba's death in 1438, he made an attempt to usurp the Mongol throne, but the people did not agree, and *Tʿo-tʿo-bu-hua,*[913] a descendant of the Yüan emperors, was placed on the throne. He was a son-in-law of Tʿo-huan, who was then occupying the place of prime minister at the Mongol court. When Tʿo-huan died in 1440, his son *Ye-sien,* chief of the Wa-la, succeeded him as minister at the Mongol court, with the title *Tʿai shi.*[914] Ye-sien was a clever captain and the ruler *de facto.* In 1449 he set in motion a large Mongol host towards China. After passing the Great Wall, the Mongols met the Chinese army beyond *Süan hua fu.* A terrible battle took place near *Tʿu mu,*[915] in which the Chinese were completely defeated. The emperor *Ying tsung*, who had imprudently advanced, was made prisoner and kept in Mongolia for nearly two years.[916] The Mongols advanced as far as Peking, but were not able to take the capital. Soon after, Ye-sien, who by this campaign had come to great power, assassinated T'o-t'o-bu-hua and took possession of the Mongol throne. But his tyranny caused dissatisfaction among the Mongols. He was put to death by a Mongol, *A-la-chi-yüan*, who had a grudge against him, in 1455. The latter was assassinated by *Bo-lai*, and finally *Ma-rh-k'o-la*,[917] the son of *T'o-t'o-bu-hua*, was placed on the Mongol throne, with the title *Siao wang tsz'* (in Chinese = little king, regulus), by which thenceforth the Mongol rulers are designated in the Chinese annals. Ma-rh-k'o-la transferred the seat of the Mongol government and his residence to the south of the Great Desert, to the pasture-lands bordering upon the Great Wall, and from there the Mongols spread westward over the Ordos. The history of the Mongols and their frequent wars with China are treated of at length in the Ming History down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

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[913] I. J. Schmidt and Howorth, *l. c.* i. 361, identify him with the *Taisong Khan* of Sanang Setzen.

[914] In the Altan tobchi he is termed *Essen Taishi.* Taishi is properly a Chinese title adopted by the Mongols. It occurs frequently in the Altan tobchi, and seems to be identical with "prince." It is the same as *Taidji* in the Kalmuk pedigrees given by Pallas (see farther on).

[915] *Tʿu mu* is still the name of a place on the road from Peking to Kalgan, west of *Huai lai hien.*

As to the *Wa-la*, their influence in Mongolia was broken with the death of Ye-sien, and their people were dispersed. Ye-sien's son *Ho-rh-hu-dai* with his people settled on the river *Gan-gan*, whilst his brother *Bo-du-wan* and his nephew *Wu-hun* took their abode in Ha mi. In 1459 the Chinese emperor bestowed titles upon them. The Ming shi reports that in the reign of T'ien shun (1457–65) the Wa-la prince *A-shi t'ie-mu-rh*, a grandson of Ye-sien, repeatedly sent tribute to the Chinese court. In 1472 the Wa-la, together with Ha mi and Turfan, sent an embassy to the Chinese court. The emperor refused the tribute they presented, summoning the chiefs to appear in person. In 1518 the Wa-la prince *Bo-liu*, profiting by an expedition the Sultan of Turfan, *A-hei-ma*, had undertaken towards Su chou, attacked and ravaged Turfan. In 1530 he was defeated by the ruler of Turfan, and subsequently he suffered also a defeat from the ruler of Hami, and found himself constrained to offer his submission to the Chinese emperor, who, however, refused his protection. This is, in short, the history of the Oirats in the Ming period.

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[916] The capture of the Chinese emperor by *Essen Taishi* is related also with some details in the Altan tobchi, p. 173. The emperor is termed there *Tai meng Djin tei Khan*. Probably T'ai Ming (Great Ming), Cheng tung (Ying tsung's reign), is intended.

[917] Howorth, *l. c.* i. 367, identifies him with the *Molon Khan* of Sanang Setzen.

The Western Mongols or Oirats, whom the Chinese annalists of the Ming period term *Wa-la*, are noticed by the Mohammedan writers of the same period under the name of *Kalmaks*, and even now-a-days this people is known in Europe by the same name, which is more generally written *Kalmuk*. But this appellation is not native, and the origin of it has hitherto not been satisfactorily explained. (Comp. Howorth, *l. c.* i. 496.)

The Arab geographer Ibn Alvardi (+ 1349) seems to be the first Mohammedan author who mentions the Kalmaks (d'Herbelot, "Bibl. Or." *sub* Jagiouge et Magiouge). The Zafer nameh (iv. 6) states that in 1398, when Timur was on the way to Hindustan, and encamped near Kabul, *Taizi Aglen*[918] of the kingdom of *Kalmak*, who, for some difference which had happened between him and the Khan at Ulug Yurt,[919] had fled, came to this place to lay himself at the feet of the throne. Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, in his "History of the Moguls" (p. 36), reports that he himself had spent, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a whole year among the Kalmaks.

As we have seen, according to the Ming history, the *Wa-la* or Oirats lived north of Ha mi, beyond the T'ien shan mountains; the Ming Geography says north-west of the Sha mo desert. In the Mongol traditions the sacred mountain of *Bogdo ula* (see note 161) is frequently mentioned in connection with the Oirats. The Great Geography of the present dynasty in the section on the Mongols identifies the Mongol tribe *Wu-la-te*, now living north-west of the Ordos (the Urads; see Howorth, *l. c.* i. 446 and map), with the Wa-la of the Ming, and states that they settled there in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. I am not prepared to decide whether there is any foundation for this assertion.

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[918] See *Tai shi*, note 914. *Aglen* in the Djagatai Turkish language means "prince of the blood."

[919] Pétis de la Croix translates "the Great Horde of the Mogol Khans of Kalmak."

The Chinese authors of the present dynasty write the name of the Oirats generally *Wei-la-t'e* or *O-lu-t'e*, whence the spelling *Eleuth*, first adopted by Father Gaubil, is derived.

Regarding the history of the Oirats, or Eleuths, or Kalmuks, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a considerable amount of information is found in Mongol and Chinese literature, and has for the greater part been made accessible to European scholars. I may notice the following works dealing with the Eleuths and Kalmuks:—

De Mailla's "Histoire de la Chine," 1776, vols. xi. xii. "Le pays de Tse vang raptan roi des Eleuths, par le père Gaubil," 1726. "Conquête du royaume des Eleuths par l'empereur K'ien long, par le père Amiot" ("Mém. conc. Chin.," i. (1776), p. 325 *seq.*). Pallas, "Historische Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften," 1776. In this work a whole chapter is devoted to the history of the Kalmuks, the information having been gathered directly from the Kalmuks at the Russian frontier. Pallas, therefore, is an independent authority; he had never seen the Mongol annals of Sanang Setzen, and depends entirely upon the oral traditions of the Kalmuks.

In 1834 the Russian sinologue Father Hyacinth published a "Historical Sketch of the Oirats or Kalmyks." This book is of little worth. Hyacinth, not having then access to the Ming shi, translated the fragmentary accounts of the Oirats found in the *Si yü t'ung wen chi*, a work published by order of emperor K'ien lung in 1763, a geographical and historical dictionary of Central Asia, in which the proper names are given in six languages, viz., Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Eleuth, Tibetan, Turkish. There is considerable confusion in Hyacinth's views and conclusions.

A very valuable article, dealing with the same matter, was published in 1880 by V. Uspensky (now Russian Consul at Kuldja) in his account of the country of Kukenor, in the "Memoirs of the Russian Geogr. Soc." (Ethnogr. section), vi. Uspensky has made use for his historical and geographical investigations not only of the Ming shi, but also of many little-known or rare Chinese historical records of the last or the present dynasty. He draws a great deal of interesting and new information regarding the Mongols and Oirats from the *Meng ku yu mu ki*, a geographical and historical account of Mongolia, published in 1859, and the *Si yü kao ku lu*, a collection of historical matters referring to the countries of the west, likewise compiled in our days.

Professor A. Pozdneyeff, of the St. Petersburg University, in 1883 translated the Mongol annals *Erdeniin erikhe* into Russian, and accompanied his translation with very valuable notes. These annals refer especially to the history of the Khalkhas in Northern Mongolia down to the year 1736, but include also the history of the Eleuths, who were at constant war with the Khalkhas, their eastern neighbours, and the Chinese.

I would finally notice here H. Howorth's "History of the Mongols," 1876. In vol. i. chap. ix. the author gives an admirable historical account of the Western Mongols, which occupies a prominent place in the rank of critical investigations on the subject.

It has been noticed above that the Ming History speaks of three tribes into which the Oirats were divided in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sanang Setzen, referring to the same period, terms this people *Durben Oirat*, "the four Oirats," and names these four sections *Kergud, Baghatud, Khoit,* and *Oghelet* (Howorth, *l. c.* i. 558). No mention is made in the Altan tobchi of a division of the Oirats. The Chinese historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, like Sanang Setzen, mention four Oirats, *sz' O-la t'e,* but apply to them other names: *Choros* (Dzungars), *Durbet, Turgut, Khoshot* (*v. infra*). These latter names for the four Oirats are found also in the oral traditions of the Kalmuks, collected by Pallas.

The term *Durben Oirat* has generally been translated by "the four allies" (Rémusat, Schmidt, and others), but Galsang Gamboyeff suggests that the name Oirat may perhaps be derived from *oi orat,* "people living in the forests." Besides this, Uspensky observes that *Durben,* meaning "four" in Mongol, was also the name of a Mongol tribe, which, as he proves from a statement of Rashid-eddin, in the days of Chinghiz Khan was allied to the Oirats. Rashid speaks of a chief of the Oirats called Kutuga Biki, who belonged to the tribe of Durben (Berezin, i. 110; d'Ohsson, i. 86).

According to the information gathered by Uspensky from Chinese sources, the Oirats, pressed by the ruler of Turfan, began, towards the end of the sixteenth century, to emigrate southward. One part of them reached *Si-ning* (east of Lake Kukenor), and subsequently settled north of the *Nan shan* (Southern Mountains). In 1638 the emigration of the *Khoshots,* one of the dominant tribes of the Oirats, to Kukenor is recorded.

According to Pallas (*v. supra*), the *Oelöts* or *Kalmuks* are divided into four tribes, viz., *Khoshot, Derbet, Soongar,* and *Torgot.* But farther on he speaks of a fifth one, *Khoit.* He gives the pedigrees of the ruling khans of these tribes. I may be allowed to give for comparison some Chinese accounts on the same matter.

The above-mentioned *Si yü t'ung wen chi* (see chap.

vii.–xi.) states that the tribe of *Djun-ga-rh* (Dzongar) comprises the four *Wei-la-t‘e* (Oirats) who in ancient times lived north of the *T‘ien shan.* The four Oirats then are enumerated as follows:—

1. *Ch‘o-lo-sz’* (Choros).
2. *Du-rh-bo-t‘e* (the Derbet of Pallas).
3. *Huo-shi-t‘e* (the Khoshot of Pallas).
4. *Hui-t‘e* (the Khoit of Pallas).

The detailed genealogical tables of the Khans (or *Tai-shi* or *Tai-tsi,* as they were generally called; see note 914) of these tribes, as found in the Chinese work, when compared with Pallas' list, prove that both have been compiled from about the same sources. The names of the Khans in both lists agree in a general way. The Chinese tables are more complete. The tribe *Ch‘o-lo-sz’* (Choros) is not found in Pallas' table, but the names in the pedigree given for this tribe in the Chinese list agree with the *Soongarr Khans* of Pallas. Indeed, the *Dsongars,* as is known, were a branch of the Choros.

Some new information on the same subject is found in the *Sheng wu ki,* a descriptive account of the various military operations of the present dynasty. We read there, chap. iii., under the head of "Emperor Kang hi's expedition against the Djungars," the following notice regarding the Eleuths:—

The *O-lu t‘e* (Eleuths) are of *Meng-gu* (Mongol) extraction. When the Mongol dynasty in China had been overthrown, the Mongol people split into three branches. One of them lived south of the desert, and continued to be called *Meng-gu;* another branch lived north of the desert, and they called themselves *K‘o-rh-k‘o* (Khalkhas). Both (*i.e.,* the ruling khans of both tribes) are descendants of Chinghiz. A third branch dwell westward. They do not descend from Chinghiz, but they trace their origin back to *T‘o-huan T‘ai shi* and *Ye-sien, K‘o-han* (Khan) of the *Wa-la;*[920] and the Wa-la are the same tribe we now call *O-lu-t‘e*

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[920] *T‘o-huan,* 1415–40; *Ye-sien,* 1440–55. See above.

(Eleuths) and the four *Wei-la-tʻe* (Oirats). After this the names of the four Oirat tribes are given as follows:—

1. The *Chʻo-lo-sz'* (Choros), who have their pasture-land in *I-li.*

2. The *Du-rh-bo-tʻe,* who dwell on the river *E-rh-tsʻi-sz'* (Irtish).

3. The *Tʻu-rh-hu-tʻe* (Turguts),[921] in *Tʻa-rh-ba-ha-tʻai.*

4. The *Ho-shi-tʻe* (Khoshots), in *Wu-lu-mu-tsʻi* (Urumtsi). Towards the end of the Ming dynasty one branch of the Ho-shi-tʻe emigrated to *Tsʻing hai* (Kukenor).

The tribe of the Chʻo-lo-sz' had a powerful ruler, *Hun-tʻai-gi,* who died under the reign of Kang hi.[922] His son, *Ga-rh-dan,*[923] when he ascended the throne, assumed the title *Djun-ga-rh Khan.*

This is, it seems, the first time that the name *Dsungar* appears in the Chinese annals. The meaning of this name in Mongol is "the left hand," and also "eastern wing" (of the tribe). *Dsungar* is, therefore, not, as is generally believed, the name of a tribe, but rather a descriptive term. Even now-a-days all the Mongol tribes living in Mongolia consist of a right and a left wing. We know that the Dsungars, who became powerful in the second half of the seventeenth century, and who dominated over the tracts we are accustomed to call Dsungaria, belonged to the Choros, who, as we have seen, form one of the great sections into which the Eleuths are divided. In the great expedition sent in 1755 by the Chinese emperor K'ien lung to the Ili country to destroy the head-quarters of the Dsungars, this tribe was nearly exterminated by the emperor's troops.

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[921] These Turguts in 1703 left their original seats in Dsungaria and emigrated westward. Peter the Great allowed them to occupy the steppes between the Volga and the Emba. In 1712, the Chinese emperor Kang hi despatched an envoy to the Khan of the Torguts, who then lived near the Elton lake, east of Tsaritsin and the Volga. An account of this embassy, 1712–15, has been given by *Tu li shen,* in a narrative entitled *I yü lu.* An English translation of it by Sir George Thomas Staunton was published in 1821. In 1771 the same Turguts returned again to Dsungaria, which then had been conquered by the Chinese.

[922] *Erdeni Baatur Kong taichi.* According to Pallas, he died in 1665. See Howorth, *l. c.* i. 620.

[923] *Galdan,* the famous chief of the Eleuths, who waged war with the Khalkha Mongols and with the emperor Kanghi, and who died in 1696.

WU-LIANG-HA.

Ming shi, chap. cccxxviii.

This country is situated south of the *Hei lung kiang* (Amur river), and north of the defile *Yü yang sai.*[924]

The Ming Geography states that the country of Wu-liang-ha borders to the east upon *Hai si,*[925] to the west upon *K'ai p'ing,*[926] to the north upon *Pei hai* (Northern Sea).

At the time of the Han dynasty this was the country of the *Sien pi;* in the T'ang period the *T'u-gu-hun* dwelt in it, and at the time of the Sung the *K'i-tan* (or Liao) occupied these tracts.[927] During the Yüan period it formed the northern part of the circuit (department) *Ta ning lu.*[928]

A.D. 1389, ~~the emperor~~ Hung wu established in this country three *wei* or military districts,[929] viz., *To-yen,* ~~*Fu-yü,*~~ and *T'ai ning.*

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[924] There is a defile of this name in the mountains north of Kukokhoto. But the country of Wu-liang-ha did not extend so far west.

[925] According to the Ming Geography, *Hai-si* was the name of a district in the territory of the *Nü-chi* (see farther on), who were the eastern neighbours of Wu-liang-ha.

[926] The same as *Shang tu,* Kubilai Khan's summer residence in South-Eastern Mongolia.

[927] See regarding these people Klaproth's "Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie."

[928] See note 930.

[929] In order to protect the empire against the invasions of their troublesome neighbours, the Ming had established at the frontiers, on the points most exposed to danger, a number of *wei* or military posts, on which generally districts of more or less extent depended. About fifty *wei* are enumerated in the geographical section of the Ming shi at the frontiers of China proper, namely, in Liao tung, Chi li, Shan si, Shen si, Kan su, Sz'ch'uan, and even in Yün nan. Besides this line of defence, the Chinese tried to establish a second one in the adjacent countries not strictly subject to China, but where the tribes had acknowledged Chinese supremacy. In the section of foreign nations in the Ming shi, fifteen of these *wei* or military stations, or rather districts beyond China, are spoken of, viz., three in South-Eastern Mongolia and Manchuria, eleven in the tract between the T'ien shan mountains and Tibet (in ancient Uiguria), and four in the

To-yen extends from *Ta ning*[930] southward to *Si feng k'ou*[931] and *Süan hua fu.*

T'ai ning comprises *Kin chou, I chou, Kuang ning,*[932] and extends as far as the *Liao* river.

Fu-yü stretches from *Huang ni wa* (the puddle of yellow mud)[933] to *Shen yang* (Mukden), *T'ie ling,* and *K'ai yüan* (both north-east of Mukden).

These military districts were ruled by the chiefs of their own people, but depended on the Ming. The Mongols frequently overran this country, especially during the period when the Oirat chief Ye-sien ruled over Mongolia. The Chinese annals report also several revolts of Wu-liang-ha against China. I omit the details.

It appears from the above statements that the country of Wu-liang-ha in the Ming period comprised a part of Southern Manchuria (Shen king), and the south-eastern part of Mongolia, east of the Hing an mountain chain, and north of the Great Wall. I am not able to give any satisfactory explanation of the name Wu-liang-ha. I may, however, observe, that in the Yüan period it was applied to the Mongol tribe of the *Orianguts* (Urankhit), noticed by Rashid-eddin (Berezin, i. 141). Howorth, on his mediæval map of Mongolia, locates them between the Upper Yenissei and Lake Baikal. Rubruck (327) calls them *Orengai.* Now-a-days a Mongol tribe called *Uranga* or

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country south-east of Lake Kukenor. These districts were ruled by native chiefs, upon whom the Chinese emperor bestowed Chinese titles and ranks. The chief of Hami, the largest and most important of these *wei,* had the title *wang* or prince (translated sometimes by "king"), whilst the chiefs of the smaller military districts were raised to more or less elevated Chinese military ranks. Generally they received the rank of *chi hui* in different gradations, which in the days of the Ming denoted superior officers, or they were appointed *ts'ien hu,* or captains of a thousand.

[930] According to the Ta ts'ing I t'ung chi, the ruins of the city of *Ta ning* lie 560 *li* north-east of the defile of Si feng k'ou, and 100 *li* south of the left wing of the aimak of Khortsin, on the northern bank of the River *Lo ha.*

[931] This is the name of one of the gates in the Great Wall towards the Gulf of Pechili.

[932] All these names can be found on modern maps south-west of Mukden.

[933] Unknown to me; probably in Northern Manchuria.

Urianghai is found in the Chinese Altai west of Kobdo. (Klaproth's map of Asia; Potanin's "Mongolia," ii. 34). In Hamel van Gorcum's "Account of his Captivity in Corea," 1653–66 (Ritter's "Erdk.," iv. 646), the curious statement occurs that the Manchu Tatars are called *Tiekse* and *Orankay* by the Coreans. The "Dictionnaire Coréen-français," published in 1880 by the missionaries, however, states (p. 56) that the term *o-rang-ḳhai* is applied by the Coreans to all foreigners.

In the Ming Geography (1461), chap. lxxxix, there is an article on the *Nü-chi* or *Churche,* who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had ruled over the northern part of China under the name of the *Kin* dynasty (see note 574). After their expulsion from China by the Mongols in 1234, they continued to live in their original abode in Manchuria. It is known that the actually reigning Manchu dynasty traces its origin back to the Nü-chi. The Ming Geography states that the Nü-chi live east of *Wu-liang-ha,* and border to the south upon *Chʻao sien* (Corea). Northward their country stretches to the northern sea of *Nu-rh-gan,* eastward to the sea. When the Kin reigned, they had in this country one of their residences, *Shang king* (Upper Residence) or *Hui ning fu.*[934] After the Yüan had overthrown the Kin, the former established in the country of the Nü-chi five *wan hu fu* (military posts of 10,000) to protect the northern frontier, viz., at *Tʻao-wen, Hu-li-gai, O-do-lin, Tʻo-wo-lin,* and *Po-kʻu kiang,* situated south and north of the *Hun-tʻung* river. The country was inhabited by the *Nü-chi* and the *Shui Ta-ta* (Water Tatars),[935] and formed the circuits of *Ho-lan-fu*[936] and *Shui Ta-ta.*

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[934] According to the Chinese Geography of the present dynasty, the ruins of this ancient city are found 60 *li* south-west of Ninguta, on the right bank of the River Hurha.

[935] Comp. Plano Carpini, 645: "*Su Mongal,* i.e. aquatici, ipsi autem se ipsos *Tartaros* appellabant a quodam fluvio qui currit per terram illorum." See also Rubruck, 327, *Su Moals* or *Water Moals.*

[936] *Ho-lan,* the name of a river.

In the Ming period, under the reign of Yung lo, in 1409, after these tribes had acknowledged Chinese supremacy, a Chinese governorship was established there at *Nu-rh-gan* with 184 *wei* (military districts) and 20 *tsʻien hu su* (military posts of 1000) subordinate to it. All these places are enumerated there, and besides this the names of about sixty other districts, cities, and rivers of the same country are given.

After this the Ming Geography enumerates the principal mountains and rivers of the country of the Nü-chi, and gives more or less detailed accounts of them, as also of the productions of the country. We find here the first description of the celebrated mountain *Chʻang po shan* (Long White Mountain), the cradle-land of the now reigning Manchu dynasty. This mountain is said there to be situated in the district of *Hui ning fu* (see note 934). It is 200 *li* high, 60 broad, and 1000 *li* long. On its summit there is a lake 80 *li* in circumference. Three rivers flow from this mountain, the *Ya-lu* to the south, the *Hun tʻung* (Sungari) to the north, and the *A-ye-kʻu* (probably the Tumen river is meant) to the east. The Chʻang po shan was already famed in the Kin period. The name occurs repeatedly in the history of the Kin dynasty. I omit the other details of this interesting ancient account of Manchuria, which does not come within the province of my investigations.

SI YÜ, COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.

Thus the rest of the section on foreign countries in the Ming shi, chap. cccxxix.–cccxxxii., is headed. It comprises, besides Tibet and some countries of Hindustan, Eastern and Western Turkestan, Western Asia, &c.

HA MI.

The chap. cccxxix. of the Ming shi begins with a long article on the military district of *Ha mi* or *Khamul.*

According to these accounts, Hami lies 1600 *li* west (misprint for north-west) of *Kia yü kuan.*[937]

Hami borders north[938] on the country of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), west on *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) and *Huo chou* (Karakhodjo), south on *Sha chou, Han-dung, Ch'i-ghin,* &c.[939] Fifteen hundred *li* south-east of Hami is the city of *Su chou.*

At the time of the Han dynasty this was the country of *I-wu-lu,* where the emperor Ming ti (A.D. 58–76) established a military district and a military colony. During the T'ang dynasty (618–907) it was known under the name of *I chou.* In the Sung period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) it belonged to the *Hui-ho* (Uigurs). At the end of the Yüan dynasty (overthrown in 1368) a prince of the *Wei-wu* (Uigurs), by name *Na-hu-li,* ruled over this country. He had also the title of *Su wang*(prince of Su). When he died, his brother *An-ko t'ie-mu-rh* succeeded him.

Hami is a place of great importance, all the envoys (from the West) who proceed to the Chinese court being obliged to pass through Hami. It is a bulwark of the western frontier.[940]

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[937] As has been noticed in note 883, *Kia yü kuan* from early centuries was the starting-point for Chinese military expeditions and travellers proceeding to Central and Western Asia, and even India. It was generally believed that this fortress lies in a defile ; but this supposition is a mistake, as my friend Colonel Matusowsky, who visited the place in 1875, explained to me. The small fortress of Kia yü kuan is situated about seventeen miles north-west of Su chou fu, on a river which comes out from the southern mountains, and running in a north-easterly direction, discharges itself into the *Tao lai* river, an affluent of the *Etsina* river. Whilst this elevated mountain chain, at the foot of which the fortress has been laid out, represents south of the latter an insurmountable barrier, the land north of Kia yü kuan is an inhospitable desert, destitute of water. This geographical disposition explains the importance of the place, situated upon the only practicable way leading from China to Eastern Turkestan. As has been stated above, the Great Chinese Wall terminates near Kia yü kuan, according to Lieutenant Kreitner, who accompanied Count B. Szechenyi on his expedition to Tibet, and visited Kia yü kuan in 1879, about fifty *li* south of this fortress, in the *Nan shan* mountains (Kreitner's "Im Fernen Osten," pp. 641, 642).

[938] There are several mistakes in the Ming shi regarding the frontiers of Hami, which I correct from the Ming Geography.

[939] On all these districts see farther on.

The population of Hami belongs to three nations, viz., *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans), *Wei-wu-rh* (thus the Uigurs were termed by the Chinese authors of the Mongol period), and *Ha-la-hui* (unknown to me). Besides these, the tribes of *Siao-le-t'u* and *Me-k'o-li*[941] are mentioned in the mountains north-east of Hami.

I insert here some accounts which the Ming Geography (1461), chap. lxxxix., gives on the mountains, rivers, and productions of the district of Hami.

The *T'ien shan* (Celestial Mountain) lies north of the city of Hami. It is also known under the name of *Süe shan* (Snowy Mountain). In the language of the *Fan* (foreigners) it is termed *Dje-lo-man.* In times past the *Hiung-nu* (the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia), when they crossed this mountain, used to descend from their horses and pray. South of it, at a distance of two *li*, is a salt lake.

The mountain *Ma tsung shan* (horse's mane's mountain) lies at the south-eastern frontier of Hami. In the vicinity is the defile *Wang hiang ling.* On the summit, in a niche in the rock, is an inscription referring to *Li Ling.*[942]

The river *Wei-wu-rh* is 130 *li* and more east of the city of Hami. The banks of this river are very sandy, and plenty of willow trees grow there.

The *Niang tz' ts'üan* (Lady's spring) is east of the Wei-wu-rh river. The *hu* people (Turks) call it *K'o-t'un bu-la*

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[940] In the History of the Posterior Han (first century of our era) it is stated that *I-wu-lu* (Hami) is the key to the *Si yü* (Western countries). It belonged originally to the Hiung nu, but in A.D. 73 the Chinese troops conquered it.

[941] This name occurs several times in the Ming shi. In the article Handung (see farther on) this tribe is called *Ye-me-k'o-li,* which may also be read Wild Me-k'o-li. It is stated there that they live two days' journey north-east of Hami.

[942] The mountain Ma tsung shan and the inscription of Li ling are mentioned in Wang Yen te's narrative, A.D. 982. Li ling was a Chinese general, who, in B.C. 99, was defeated and made prisoner by the Hiung nu.

(Khatun bulak). In the Tʻang period an Uigur princess used to live here. The ruins of the city can still be seen. There is also a pond with a hot spring.

The river *Ho-lo chʻuan* flows at the south-eastern frontier of Hami. At the time of the Tʻang an Uigur princess used to live here. The ruins of the city can still be seen. There is also a pond with a hot spring. (This account is taken from a Chinese itinerary of the Sung period, quoted by De Guignes, Huns i. 37.)

The river *Kan lu chʻuan* (see note 1055) is 300 *li* north-west of Hami.

After this the Ming Geography enumerates the products of Hami, viz., horses, camels, sheep with large tails, wheat, millet, *wan tou* (common peas), *hiang tsao* (fragrant jujube),[943] *tsʻiu-tszʼ* (fruit of cratægus), *hu tʻung lü*,[944] *yin ya*

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[943] I think we have to read *sha tsao* (sand jujube), which is the Chinese name for the fruit of several species of Elæagnus, a very common fruit in Central Asia.

[944] This product, an exudation from the tree *hu tʻung*, has already been noticed in Wang Yen te's narrative, A.D. 982. It was known in China much earlier. The *Pen tsʻao kang mu*, chap. xxxiv., which writes more correctly *hu tʻung lei* (tears of the hu tʻung tree), quotes an author of the Tʻang period, who states that the exudation is caused by an insect, and that the tree resembles the tree *tʻung* (Paulownia imperialis). Another author of the seventh century reports that the leaves of the hu tʻung tree (literally foreign tʻung tree) resemble the leaves of the poplar tree. The author of the *Si yü wen kien lu*, who visited Turkestan in the second half of the last century, in giving an account of the products of Central Asia (chap. vii. fol. 9), writes that the characters *hu-tʻung* here are intended to render a foreign word which means "fuel." The tree grows abundantly everywhere on sandy places, and sometimes forms forests extending for several tens of *li*. Generally it grows crookedly, and is not fit for woodwork, and even when the stem rises straight, the wood is not durable. The Mohammedans call this tree *hu-tʻung*, owing to its being fit only for firing stoves. In the hot season the sap of the tree flows down into the sand, and after hardening resembles amber. It is called then *hu-tʻung li* (hu-tʻung tears). The stem is covered with a white powder like flour, which is called *hu-tʻung kien* (kien = soda). The *Si yü tʻu chi* gives *tʻu-hu-la-kʼo* (*tugurak*) as the local name of the hu-tʻung tree.

In Dr. A. Regel's account of his journey to Turfan (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1881, p. 382) I find the following short notice referring to the tree in question :—The desert poplar *Populus euphratica*, called *durangun* or *tugrak* by the natives, is a very useful tree in the waterless deserts, where it *küe,*[945] jade; *pin t'ie,* a kind of iron (or rather steel) yielded by the *ch'i t'ie shi* (stone which eats iron), magnetic iron ore.[946]

We may now return to the records of the Ming shi, relating the history of Hami.

After the Ming emperor Hung wu had obtained the allegiance of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs),[947] he established military stations in *An-ting*, *A-du-an*, *K'ü-sien*, &c., and sent also an officer to *An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh* to make known the imperial manifestos. An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh was well-disposed and despatched to the Chinese emperor an envoy, who arrived in 1403, and brought 190 horses as tribute. Besides this, the ruler of Hami sold to the Chinese government 4710 horses from Hami. In 1410 he sent again tribute, and the emperor Yung lo bestowed upon him the title *Chung shun wang* (faithful and obedient prince), and gave him a golden seal. But in the next year An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh was poisoned by the (Mongol) Khan *Gui-li-ch'i*. By imperial order An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh's nephew *T'o-t'o*, who had spent his time of youth in China as a prisoner of war, succeeded him and inherited his father's title. In 1406 a (Chinese) military station (*wei*) was established in Hami. T'o-t'o was ill-disposed against China and offended the emperor's envoys. Besides this, he was given to drinking and neglected the ruling of his country. The people revolted. The emperor sent an officer to warn him, but before the latter had reached

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sometimes covers great areas. It seldom grows more than thirty feet in height. Its wood, like that of the saxaul (Holoxylon), is unfit for any other use than for fuel. In Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India" I find that Populus euphratica is known by the name of *ho tung*.

[945] Hartshorn.

[946] Already mentioned in Wang Yen te's narrative. See also note 395.

[947] As has been already noticed in a previous chapter, since the time of the Mongols the Uigurs were known to the Chinese historians under the name of *Wei-wu-rh*. The country of the Uigurs then comprised Bishbalig (Urumtsi), and the tract situated between the T'ien shan and Kukenor, and even a part of Tibet.

Hami, T'o-t'o had died, A.D. 1410. His cousin *T'u-li t'ie-mu-rh* succeeded him with the Chinese title of *Chung i wang* (faithful and righteous prince). He died in 1425. The emperor confirmed T'o-t'o's son *Bu-da-shi-li* as Chung shun wang, but owing to his minority, *T'o-huan t'ie-mu-rh*, a brother of T'u-li t'ie-mu-rh, was associated with him with the title Chung i wang. The latter died in 1437. His son *T'o-t'o t'a-mu-rh* succeeded, but died a short time after. Bu-da-shi-li died also, and then his son *Dao-wa-da-shi-li* took the reign of Hami with the title Chung shun wang. All these princes had sent every year tribute to the Chinese court. Under Dao-wa-da-shi-li's reign, *Ye-sien*, Khan of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), twice took Hami and made Dao-wa-da-shi-li's mother and his wives prisoners, A.D. 1440 and 1445. Dao-wa-da-shi-li died in 1457. His brother and successor, *Bu-lie-go*, reigned until 1460, and as he died without leaving a son, his mother, *Nu-wen-da-shi-li*, took charge of the regency. The people could not come to terms as to the election of a new ruler, nor did they wish that the country should be governed by a woman. Disturbances broke out, and in 1463 the princess-dowager was obliged to retire to *K'u yü.*[948] In 1472, *Ba-t'a-mu-rh*, a grand-nephew of *T'o-huan t'ie-mu-rh*, was appointed by the emperor to rule as a governor over the district of Hami, but he died in the same year, and his son *Han ch'en* was appointed governor of Hami. At that time, *Su-t'an A-li* (Sultan Ali) of T'u-lu-fan (Turfan) arrived before Hami, captured and plundered the city, and seized the golden seal (granted by the Chinese emperor). He took also prisoner the princess-dowager, and carried her along with him. Ali's brother-in-law, *Ya-lan*, was left to govern Hami. The Chinese military station was then transferred to the newly built city *K'u yü.* In 1473 the Chinese emperor gave orders to *Li Wen*, commander-in-chief in Su chou, to raise troops in the military districts of *Ch'i-ghin,* Han-dung, among the *Me k'o li,* and other tribes, and direct them against Ali. In winter this host advanced as far as the river *Bu-lung-gi-rh,*[949] but did not venture to attack the enemy, and returned. The tribes of the *Wei-wu-rh* and the *Me-k'o-li* were also transferred to K'u yü.

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[948] The city of *K'u yü* is marked on modern Chinese maps about 100 *li* west of *Yü men hien*, north lat. 39°.

In 1482, Han-ch'en, who had also his residence in K'u yü, rallied the troops of Ch'i-ghin and Han-dung, numbering together with his own people ten thousand men, and suddenly attacked Hami. Ya-lan fled, and Han ch'en entered the city. In 1488 the title of *Chung shun wang* was bestowed upon him. Meanwhile Sultan Ali had died (1478). His successor, *A-hei-ma,* in 1488 appeared before Hami, and, under the pretence of proposing a marriage with Han-ch'en's daughter, enticed him out and killed him. After this, A-hei-ma took possession of Hami, but in the next year he was obliged to give it back. Han-ch'en's successor was *Shan-ba,* a descendant of T'o-t'o's nephew. In 1493 he was made prisoner by A-hei-ma, who once more captured Hami. In 1495 the city was retaken by the troops of Ku yü, Ch'i-ghin, Han-dung, but Shan-ba was released only two years later. He died in 1505. His son *Bai-ya-dsi,* who succeeded him, assumed the title *Su-t'an* (Sultan). He was an incapable ruler. In 1513 Su-t'an *Man-su-rh* of Turfan took possession of Hami, and since that time the Chinese lost their influence there.

Hami depended on Turfan down to the year 1696, when, according to the Chinese annals of the present dynasty, the chief of Hami, *Beg Abdullah,* acknowledged the supremacy of emperor Kang hi. See Rémusat's "Extension de l'Empire Chinois," &c.

I may finally notice that, in the "Mémoires conc. les Chinois" (xiv. 242, 245, 247), Amiot has translated four letters written by the princes of Hami or their envoys to the Chinese emperors.

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[949] The river Bulungir is marked on modern Chinese maps 40° north lat., between Kia yü kuan and Hami.

As regards Western sources of information in the Ming period referring to Hami, we may mention the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to the emperor of China, which in 1420 passed through *Kamul* (Yule's "Cathay," cc.).

B. Goes was the first European traveller who, after Marignolli, visited this place in 1605 (*l. c.* 578). More than a century later, between 1710 and 1716, the Jesuit missionaries, by order of emperor Kang hi, determined by direct astronomical observations the position of Hami and some places in its neighbourhood (De Mailla's "Hist. de la Chine," xii. at the end).

After this, more than a century and a half elapsed before these tracts became again accessible to European investigation. In 1875, the Russian expedition headed by Sosnovsky, when returning from China, passed through Hami. Dr. Piasetsky and Colonel Matusovsky, who belonged to this expedition, have published some interesting notes on this place. Two years later, in 1877, Potanin visited the oasis of Hami; and in 1879 Przevalsky, on his way to Tibet, spent five days there (Potanin's "Mongolia," i. 162; Przevalsky's "Tibet," 68). According to Potanin, *Hami* (which is the Chinese name) is called *Khamil* by the Mongols and *Kumul* by the Sarts. He derives the latter name from *kum*, "sand."

I finally notice a very valuable article on Hami by V. Uspensky (Russian Consul at Kuldja), which in 1873 appeared in the "Proceedings of the Russian Geogr. Soc.," vol. ix.; see Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1873, 319). It is a historical and geographical account of the district of Hami, compiled from Chinese sources for the greater part hitherto unknown in Europe.

LIU CH'ENG (WILLOW CITY).

Liu ch'eng, or, as the name is also written, *Lu-chen* or *Liu-chen*, is the same as the country of *Liu chung* (in the middle of willows) at the time of the Han dynasty, where the Chinese governor of the *Si yü* had established his residence.[950] In the T'ang period it was the district *Liu chung hien*. The distance between Liu ch'eng and *Huo chou* (see the next) in the west is 70 *li*. Hami lies 1000 *li* east of Liu ch'eng.[951] A great river passes through the country (it seems between Hami and Liu ch'eng). Many bones (of men and beasts of burden) are met with on this road. People say that there are evil spirits who deceive the travellers, making them lose their companions and thus cause their death. After leaving the great river, the traveller has to cross the *Liu sha*.[952] At the foot of a *Fire mountain* (*v.* p. 190) there is an isolated city two or three *li* wide; that is Liu ch'eng. There are fields, gardens, shady trees, flowing waters all around. The soil produces millet, wheat, beans, hemp; there grow also peaches, pears, jujubes, melons, bottle-gourds. There are also plenty of grapes, of small size, but very sweet and without seeds. They are called *so tsz' p'u t'ao* (small grapes).[953] As to domestic animals, there are cattle, sheep, horses, and camels. The climate there is pleasant. The people are of good character. The men tie up their hair; the women cover themselves with black stuffs. The language they speak is that of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs).

In 1406 emperor Yung lo sent his minister *Liu t'ie-mu-rh* to *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbaligh; see farther on), and ordered him to bestow on the ruler of *Liu chʿeng*, when passing through his city, some pieces of silk. Then in the next year the ruler of Liu chʿeng despatched *Wa-chʿi-la*, one of his captains of a thousand, with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1409, when *An* (an envoy who had been sent to Samarkand) returned from the west, the ruler of Liu chʿeng sent again an envoy, who accompanied An. He presented tribute, and was rewarded by the emperor. In 1413 the ruler of Liu chʿeng sent an envoy, who accompanied *Bo-a-rh-hin-tʿai* (an envoy from Huo chou), and in the winter of the same year the captain of a thousand *Kuang-yin-nu* was again despatched to the Chinese court. In 1422 Liu chʿeng together with Hami sent an envoy and presented its tribute, consisting of 2000 sheep. In 1430 the ruler of Liu chʿeng sent one of his chieftains, *A-hei ba-shi*, to the Chinese court. Envoys from Liu chʿeng arrived also in 1440 and 1448. Subsequently, when *Tʿu-lu-fan* (Turfan) had become powerful, Liu chʿeng was annexed to it.

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[950] We read in the Hou Han shu, chap. cxviii., article Si yü (Western countries), that A.D. 123 *Pan Yung* was entrusted with the affairs concerning western countries and established his residence at Liu chung.

[951] According to modern Chinese itineraries, these distances are respectively 50 and 1030 *li*.

[952] The desert *Liu sha*, literally, "moving sand." See note 884.

[953] This is still the Chinese name for the small sun-dried grapes (currants) imported to Peking from Hami.

Liu chʿeng is mentioned in Wang Yen te's itinerary, A.D. 982. Proceeding from *I chou* (Hami) westward, he came to the country of *Pʿao-chʿuang* (probably the *Pi chan* of our days), and then reached *Lu chung*. He notices also the desert of the demons. On the Chinese mediæval map of the fourteenth century (see Part III.) the same place is called *Lu-gu-chʿen* (see p. 31). It is no doubt the same as the city of *Lu-kʿo-tsʿin*, marked on modern Chinese maps about sixty *li* south-east of Turfan. The Jesuit Father d'Espinha in 1756, by order of the emperor Kʿien lung, determined astronomically some cities of Eastern Turkestan and Dsungaria, and among these also *Lukotsin*, east of Turfan. He terms it *Lukikin* (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 467).

HUO CHOU.

Huo chou (Fire city), called also *Ha-la*,[954] is situated seventy *li* west of Liu chʻeng and thirty *li* east of Tʻu-lu-fan. It is the same as the *Anterior Chʻe-shi* at the time of the Han.[955] The *Sui* (589–618) called this country *Kao chʻang*. Emperor Tʻai tsung of the *Tʻang* dynasty abolished the kingdom of Kao chʻang, which then became a (Chinese) district with the name of *Si chou*. During the *Sung* period (tenth to thirteenth century) the *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) lived in this country, and used to pay tribute to China. The *Yüan* (Mongol dynasty) called this country *Huo chou* (fire city or district). It was then comprised, together with the districts of *An-ting*, *Kü-sien*, and others (see farther on), in the country of the *Wei-wu-rh*,[956] which was governed by a *da-la-hua-chʻi* (daroga = Mongol governor).

In 1406, in the fifth month, emperor Yung lo sent one of his high officers, *Liu tʻie-mu-rh*, to accompany the envoy from *Bie-shi-ba-li*, who returned home. *Liu tʻie-mu-rh* received order to bestow some pieces of silk stuff on the son of the prince of Huo chou, by name *Ha-san*, when passing through his country. In the next year the prince of Huo chou sent as tribute a piece of jade and some products of his country. In 1409 an envoy from Huo chou arrived with tribute, together with the envoys from *Ha-lie* (Herat) and *Sa-ma-rh-han,* and in 1413 *Bo-a-rh-hin-tʻai,* a military officer of the prince of Huo chou, came as an envoy with tribute. At the same time the envoys from *An-di-gan* (Andegan) and *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz) and other countries, in the whole nine, arrived at the Chinese capital. The emperor then ordered *Chʻen Chʻeng* (see above), *Li Sien,* and others to bring his manifestos to Huo chou, and bestow presents of silk and other stuffs on the ruler, to reward his merits. When the Chinese envoys returned, they were accompanied by an envoy from Huo chou. After this for several years no envoys from this country were seen at the Chinese court until 1448, and this was the last time that Huo chou sent tribute. (It belonged to Turfan in the second half of the fifteenth century.)

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[954] There are evidently two characters wanting in the Chinese text, for in the Mongol period this place was called *Ha-la-huo-djo*, the same as *Karakhodjo* of the Persian historians. See Part III. On modern Chinese maps it is marked as *Ha-la-huo-djo*, about sixty *li* south-east of Turfan and fifty *li* south-west of Lu-kʻo-tsʻin.

[955] There were in the days of the Han, before our era, two realms of *Chʻe-shi*, one of them designated by the name of *Anterior* (eastern) *Chʻe-shi* *i.e.*, nearer to China, the other called *Posterior* (western) *Chʻe-shi*. Comp. Tsʻien Han shu, chap. xcvi., where it is stated that the *Chʻe-shi* kingdoms both are situated north-east of the residence of the Chinese officer entrusted with the affairs of the Si yü (Western countries), distant from that place, the anterior 1807 *li*, the posterior 1207 *li*. They are distant from the Chinese capital (*Chang an*, near present Si an fu in Shen si) respectively 8150 and 8950 *li*. The residence of that Chinese governor at that time was in *Wu-lei*, which place seems to have been situated somewhere near present Kharashar.

[956] On the *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-rh*, both these names denoting the Uigurs, see Part II.

The country of Huo chou is very mountainous. The mountains are of a bluish-red colour, like fire, hence the name fire city (district). The climate there is hot. The cereals cultivated by the people and their domestic animals are the same as in Liu chʻeng. The city of Huo chou is ten *li* and more in circumference. There are more Buddhist temples than dwelling-houses of the people.[957] East of Huo chou there are the ruins of an ancient city, the remains of the capital of ancient *Kao chʻang.* The country of Huo chou borders north-west on *Bie-shi-ba-li.* As Huo chou was a small realm, it could not sustain its independency, and Turfan took possession of it.

Regarding the mountains, rivers, productions, &c., of Huo chou, see Tʻu-lu-fan, *infra.*

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[957] This statement is corroborated by the diarist of the embassy of Shah Rok to the emperor of China, which passed through this country in 1420. He mentions *Turfan* and *Karakhodjo,* and says that the people of Turfan were mostly Buddhists, and had a great temple with a figure of Sakya Muni (Yule's "Cathay," cc.).

Amiot, in the "Mém. conc. les Chinois," xiv. 272, notices several embassies sent by the ruler of Huo chou to the Chinese emperor, and translates the respective letters of credence. *Sa-ha-la*, prince of Huo chou, sent jade and horses as tribute. *Han wan*, sent with tribute by the prince of Huo chou, supplicated for silk stuffs. The dates of these letters are not given.

Huo chou or Karakhodjo (see note 954) is mentioned in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to the emperor of China (see note 957).

The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century), p. 224, gives an itinerary from Samarkand to Khanbalik (Peking), in which it is stated that from *Almalik* to *Kamtchou* (Kan chou), the first city of Khata on the way, they reckon forty days' journey, and the way passes through *Karakhodjo.*

Dr. A. Regel seems to be the first European who visited Karakhodjo in 1879. The Jesuit missionaries may have been there in the last century, but this name does not appear in their accounts. Regel (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, 206) writes the name *Karagudja*, and states that it is a considerable place, situated on an oasis in the desert, forty versts east of Turfan. He saw near Karagudja the vast ruins of an ancient city, with the remains of a beautiful sepulchral mosque, 400 years old. Regel reports that, according to tradition, this city, which he terms *Old Turfan*, was founded by the heathen emperor *Takianus*, and destroyed 400 years ago. It seems to me that these ruins must rather be referred to ancient *Karakhodjo.* With respect to Takianus, Yule in his "M. Polo," i. 116, observes, that all over Mohammedan Asia there are old sites to which legend attaches the name of *Dakianus*, or the emperor *Decius.*

T'U-LU-FAN (TURFAN).

Ming shi, chap. cccxxix.

T'u-lu-fan (the city) is situated west of Huo chou 100 *li.* It is distant from Hami more than 1000 *li*, from Kia yü kuan 2600 *li.* It lies in the land of ancient *Ch'e-shi*, anterior kingdom (see note 955), or *Kao ch'ang*, as it was called during the *Sui* dynasty. The T'ang abolished Kao ch'ang and established in its place the district of *Si chou*, with the capital *Kiao ho hien.*[958] The city of T'u-lu-fan is situated where the city of *An lo ch'eng*, depending on Kiao ho hien, stood. The *Sung* (960–1127) restored the name of *Kao ch'ang.* The *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) then occupied this country, and used to send tribute to the Chinese court.[959] The Yüan (Mongol dynasty) established here the head-quarters of a corps of a 10,000.

The Ming Geography, chap. lxxxix., gives some particulars with respect to the mountains, rivers, productions, &c., of Turfan, Huo chou, and Liu ch'eng, a translation of which I proceed to insert here.

The mountain *Ling shan* (mysterious mountain) is situated north-west of the city of T'u-lu-fan. The stones (rocks) there show fine veins like hair. There is also a heap of very hard and bright white stones like bones.[960] The people call this the place where a million of *lo-han* (saints, *arhat*) used to shave their hair and entered into nirvan.[961]

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[958] This is an ancient name. In the above-quoted article of the Ts'ien Han shu (see note 955) we read that already before our era the capital of the anterior kingdom of Ch'e-shi was *Kiao ho ch'eng*, or the city surrounded by a river.

[959] In A.D. 981 Wang Yen te was sent by the Chinese emperor to the prince of Kao ch'ang (see i. 244).

[960] Evidently a sacred stone heap called "obo" by the Mongols.

[961] According to the author of the Si yü wen kien lu (last century), chap. i. fol. 6, the Ling shan is a mountain south of Urumtsi, belonging to the T'ien shan. This name has been given to it on account of the marvellous phenomena seen there. It seems to me that *Ling shan* is probably the celebrated *Bogdo ula.* See note 161.

The *Ch'i shi shan* (mountain of red rocks) is a picturesque peak north-west of T'u-lu-fan. It bears this name owing to the red colour of its rocks.[962]

The mountain *T'an han* is seventy *li* north of the red mountain. Even in summer great masses of snow are accumulated on it. North of this mountain is the boundary of the *T'ie-le* tribe.[963]

The *Huo yen shan* (fire mountain) lies east of the city of Liu ch'eng. The Sung History gives the following account of this mountain:—"North of *Pei t'ing* (believed to answer the present Urumtsi) is a mountain, the interior of which contains *nao sha* (sal ammoniac). Inside there is a perpetual fire, and the smoke sent out from it never ceases. Clouds or fog are never seen around this mountain. In the evening the flames issuing from it resemble torch-light. The bats, from this phenomenon, appear also in a red colour.[964]

The mountain *Ting ku shan* is north of the city of Liu ch'eng. There is on it an ancient temple, dating from the time of the T'ang, with a monument bearing an inscription. The Sung shi, article Kao ch'ang, states that there are more than fifty Buddhist monasteries, all established in the T'ang period. They then possessed the great collection of Buddhist works and several Chinese dictionaries.[965]

The *T'ien shan* (Celestial mountains) is north of the city of *Kiao ho ch'eng*. It is also known by the name of

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[962] This passage regarding the red mountain has been borrowed from the History of the Wei (fifth century), article Kao ch'ang.

[963] Likewise copied out from the Wei History. See note 962. The *T'ie-le*, a Turkish tribe near the T'ien shan.

[964] The above account of the fire mountain is borrowed from Wang Yen te's narrative (see note 959), according to which this mountain lies north of Pei t'ing. But then the Ming Geography is wrong in referring this account to a mountain situated east of Liu ch'eng. The Si yü wen kien lu (last century) states that to the south-east of Turfan there is a chain of sandstone mountains entirely destitute of vegetation, and as the sun's beams heat exceedingly the rocks, the name "fire mountain" has been applied to them.

[965] Taken from Wang Yen te's narrative.

K'i lien shan. Here was in the days of the T'ang the city *T'ien shan hien.*

The sea (or rather lake) *P'u ch'ang hai*[966] is situated south-west of T'u-lu-fan. It is also called *Yen tse* (Salt lake) or *Po si hai,* and is 400 *li* in circumference. As has been ascertained by *Chang K'ien,* who travelled to the countries of the west, the river which discharges itself into this lake is formed by two rivers; one of them comes from the *Ts'ung ling* mountains (west of Kashgar and Yarkand), the other from *Yü t'ien* (Khotan). They unite, and then the river flows eastward and empties itself into the lake. Farther on the water flows underground for a thousand *li,* and issues out again at the foot of the *Tsi shi shan* mountain. This is the *Ho* (Yellow River).[967]

The river *Kiao ho* passes twenty *li* west of Turfan. It takes its rise in the T'ien shan mountains. Farther on it divides into two branches, surrounding the city of *Yai-rh-ch'eng.*[968] This is the same as *Kiao ho hien* in the days of the T'ang. See note 958.

Han hai (the characters mean northern sea) is the name applied to the land (desert) stretching from the city of *Liu ch'en* eastward. There is nothing but sand and stones. There are furious winds in this desert. When encountering them, travellers and horses perish. *Han hai* is a foreign name used by the barbarian tribes to designate this desert.[969]

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[966] The Ming Geography properly writes the name *P'u lei hai.* But as the whole information it gives about this lake is borrowed from the Ts'ien Han shu, chap. xcvi., introduction, I did not hesitate in writing the name as it is found in the original. The compilators of the Ming evidently mean Lake *Lopnor,* but confound it with the lake of *P'u lei.* The latter is also an ancient name, identified by the Chinese with *Barkul* of our days, situated north-east of Turfan, beyond the T'ien shan.

[967] The famous Chinese general *Chang K'ien,* who about 120 B.C. returned from his long journey to the western countries, had made some investigations about the sources of the Yellow River, and suggested that the water of the Lopnor, after running underground for a great distance, communicates with the visible sources of the Yellow River near the aforementioned mountain *Tsi shi shan* (on the Chinese map south of Lake Kukenor, about 34° N. lat.).

[968] A river *Ya-rh* is marked on modern Chinese maps west of Turfan. It appears also on the map appended to Regel's account of Turfan.

The Ming Geography mentions the following products in Tʻu-lu-fan, Huo chou, and Liu chʻeng:—

Horses,—camels,—*sha shu* (sand rats). They are as big as rabbits. The birds of prey catch and eat them.[970] *Yin ya küe, Su-ho küe.*[971]—Silkworms.—*Po tie pu* (cloth woven from the white *tie*), which is made of the cocoons of the wild silkworm living on the plant *kʻu san.* This stuff is used as a barter in trade.[972] *Hu-tung li* (see note 944).—*Tsʻzʼ mi* (thorn honey), a kind of honey (*mi*) of very fine taste produced upon a plant called *yang tsʻzʼ.*[973]—*A-wei.*

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[969] Compare also note 9.

[970] The Chinese text can also be understood: they are eaten (by the people) after being caught by birds of prey. The Chinese traveller Wang Yen te (see i. 244) notices in the country here spoken of a kind of rat as big as a rabbit, with red spots. They are eaten by the people, who use birds of prey for catching them. In the Tʻang History, chap. cclviii.*b.*, article *Yü-tʻien* (Khotan), mention is made of *sha tsi shu* (desert rats) as big as hedgehogs occurring west of Khotan and running after the horses. It seems to me that here jumping hares or *Jerboas* are meant. These beasts are frequently met in the deserts of Mongolia and Central Asia, especially the *Scirtetes jaculus*, termed *Alakdaga* (spotted colt) by the Mongols, *Morin yalma* (horse jumper) by the Kalmuks. Marco Polo's Pharao rats eaten by the Mongols (i. 244) are, as Colonel Yule has already pointed out, the same.

[971] It seems that by *yin ya küe* and *su-ho küe* horns of antelopes and stags are meant (küe = horn in Chinese). The young soft horns (antlers) of Cervus elaphus and Cervus axis, in Chinese *lu jung*, are prepared by the Chinese for medical purposes. I have seen also in Peking druggists' shops the full-grown horns of Antilope Saiga and of the elk. All these horns come either from Manchuria or from Southern Siberia. According to Potanin ("Mongolia," i. 83) there is a great trade with deer's horns in Uliassutai. Ibidem, ii. 142, the male of Cervus elaphus is called *sogo* by the Mongols. This may explain the term *su-ho küe.*

[972] The information here given about the *po tie* and the plant *kʻu san* is originally found in the Tʻang shu, article Kao chʻang. It appears also in Wang Yen te's narrative. It seems to me that we have here an incorrect description of the *cotton plant*, first introduced into China from Central Asia in the ninth or tenth century, and thus little known in the period here spoken of. The Chinese text in the Tʻang shu does not mention the *kʻu san* plant, but states simply that the *po tie* is woven of the blossoms of a plant.

[973] This statement on the honey-bearing plant has been copied out from

This is a plant with a solitary root and stem; the branches and leaves are umbrella-shaped. The plant has a very unpleasant smell. Its fresh exudation when boiled gives a paste which is called *a-wei*.[974]

As to the minerals of those countries, the Ming Geography mentions white and red salt, *nao-sha*,[975] and *pin t'ie* (steel; see note 395).

The Ming history gives the following accounts regarding the history of Turfan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:—

The name of *T'u-lu-fan* appears for the first time in the Chinese annals *s. a.* 1377 (it was unknown, it seems, during the Mongol period). The Ming shi records that the ruler of T'u-lu-fan, having repeatedly plundered foreign embassies proceeding through his dominions to China, the emperor in 1377 despatched an army to punish him, and the country was ravaged by the imperial troops.

In 1406 the emperor Yung lo sent an envoy to Bie-shi-ba-li (Moghulistan), who, when passing through T'u-lu-fan, made a present of silk stuffs to the ruler of this country; whereupon the latter despatched *Sai-yin T'ie-*

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the History of the Wei (386–558), article Kao ch'ang. Several shrubs exuding a sugar-like product have been noticed by our botanists in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan, viz., Alhagi camelorum, Atraphaxis spinosa, Tamarix mannifera. My late friend D. Hanbury, in his excellent "Pharmacographia," p. 371, states: *Turanjabin* or Alhagi Manna is afforded by *Alhagi camelorum*, Fish., a small spiny plant of the order Leguminosæ, found in Persia, Afghanistan, and Beludjistan. It is a substance in little roundish, hard, dry globules, of agreeable saccharine taste and senna-like smell. Alhagi Manna is collected near Kandahar and Herat, where it is found on the plants at the time of flowering. The well-known traveller, Professor Vambery, states from his own observation ("Skizzen aus Mittelasien," 190) that in Turkestan the turanjabin appears in autumn suddenly in one night and is collected early in the morning while it is still cool. This product is eaten by the people in its rough state, or they manufacture syrup of it. Compare also note 1055.

[974] *A-wei* is the Chinese name for *Asa fœtida*, yielded by several umbelliferous plants, *Narthex Asa-fœtida*, Falc., *Scorodosma fœtidum*, Bge., *Ferula alliacea*, Boiss.

[975] *Nao sha* is the Chinese name for sal ammoniac. It is called *now shadur* in Persian, *nau sadar* in Sanscrit, *nashatyr* in Russian.

mu-rh, a commander of a thousand, to the Chinese court. The envoy carried with him jade as tribute. In the next year he reached the capital. In 1408 a Buddhist priest, by name *Ts'ing-lai*, arrived with seven disciples (from Turfan) at the capital and presented tribute. The emperor was desirous that they should change their foreign customs, and bestowed upon the chief priest and his followers Chinese titles and rewarded them richly. Subsequently the intercourse with T'u-lu-fan was not interrupted. This realm used to send as tribute to China highly-bred horses and gerfalcons, and products of the country. The Son of Heaven also sent his envoys to T'u-lu-fan. In 1422 the chief of T'u-lu-fan, by name *In-ghi-rh-ch'a*, had been expelled by *Wai-sz'*, the chief of Bie-shi-ba-li. He then appeared before the emperor to complain. The emperor bestowed upon him a military rank, and caused the ruler of Bie-shi-ba-li to surrender In-ghi-rh-ch'a's land. The latter was very grateful. In 1425 he came in person, at the head of his tribe, to the Chinese court and presented tribute; and in the next year he appeared again, and was well received by the emperor. After his returning home he fell ill and died. In 1428 his son, *Man-k'o T'ie-mu-rh*, went in person to pay tribute. In 1430, again, an embassy from T'u-lu-fan was seen at the court, but then for about ten years no tribute was offered by this kingdom. When, in 1441, the envoy from *Mi-si-rh* (Egypt) returned home, the emperor ordered that various silk stuffs should be bestowed upon the chief of T'u-lu-fan, by name *Ba-la-ma-rh;* whereupon the latter in the next year sent tribute to the court.

T'u-lu-fan borders upon *Bie-shi-ba-li* and *Yü t'ien*,[976] which are both great kingdoms. It was at first of little authority, but afterwards, after taking possession of *Huo chou* and *Liu ch'eng* (Karakhodjo and Lukotsin, *v. supra*), in the middle of the fifteenth century, T'u-lu-fan became powerful, and its chief, *Ye-mi-li huo-djo*, accordingly assumed the title of *wang* (king or prince). Envoys from this country were seen again at the Chinese court in 1452 and 1459, when an embassy of twenty-four men arrived. In 1465 it was settled that in future T'u-lu-fan should send tribute every three or five years, and the number of men composing the embassy should not exceed ten.

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[976] Moghulistan and Khotan. See farther on.

In 1469 an embassy from T'u-lu-fan arrived, and reported that their ruler had taken the title of *Su-t'an* (Sultan), and now asked the permission to use gerfalcons, parade horses, and cloths with embroidered dragons (*i.e.*, attributes of imperial authority). But the Board of Rites refused, and only presents of silk stuff were bestowed upon the envoy. In the next year the Sultan of T'u-lu-fan sent again an envoy, who asked for certain imperial ornaments, stirrups, saddles, and other things, for his sovereign; but the Board of Rites again refused to grant this request. At that time T'u-lu-fan had risen to considerable power. *Su-t'an A-li* (Sultan Ali) of T'u-lu-fan, profiting by the circumstance that in Hami there was no ruler (see above), in the spring of 1473 attacked the city, captured it, and carried away with him the princess-dowager and the golden seal (given to the prince of Hami by the Chinese emperor). He left his brother-in-law, *Ya-lan*, with a part of his troops in Hami to maintain the place. The Chinese emperor then ordered *Li Wen* to rescue Hami, but the latter returned from this expedition without any success. Subsequently A-li sent envoys with tribute to China, as T'u-lu-fan had used to send in former times, and even three envoys arrived at the capital in the same year. They were well received by the emperor, and no bitter word was said to them in allusion to the behaviour of the Su-t'an. However, his envoys displayed great arrogance, requesting, among other things, elephants as a present. The Board of War replied that elephants were an attribute of the imperial cortège only. The emperor received them as presents (from his tributaries in the south), but would never agree to bestow them upon other people. The envoy then made allusion to T'u-lu-fan's increasing power, in having taken possession of Hami, K'ü-sien (see farther on), &c., having captured more than 10,000 men of the Wa-la (Oirats), and pointed to the necessity for China to be on good terms with the Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan, through whose dominions all the envoys to and from the west had to pass. But the emperor did not pay much attention to these arguments. Subsequently A-li's heart changed for the better. He sent again tribute, and no mention was made by his envoys of his former arrogant requests. They endeavoured to re-establish the good understanding with China, and solicited for their sovereign the favour to be officially acknowledged as Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan. The emperor made the condition to release the princess-dowager and hand over the seal of Hami. Some time after a new embassy with tribute arrived from T'u-lu-fan, but they did not bring the golden seal of Hami. In 1476 the governor of Kan chou reported that he had been informed by some (foreign) envoys who had passed through T'u-lu-fan of the death of the princess-dowager of Hami, and that the Su-t'an was not disposed to hand over the seal. Whereupon the emperor refused to receive in the future the envoys of Ali. In 1478 Ali died, and his son *A-hei-ma* (Ahmed) succeeded him as Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan, and after his accession sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor. In 1482 *Han-ch'en* (the ruler of Hami, *v. supra*) succeeded in rallying troops and expelling the people of T'u-lu-fan from Hami. In 1488 A-hei-ma arrived before Hami, enticed Han-ch'en out, killed him, and captured again Hami. After this he sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor to ask for various imperial attributes; but the emperor gave orders to stop the embassy at Kan chou, and retain its members as prisoners. In 1490 another embassy, accompanying the envoys from *Sa-ma-rh-han*, and carrying lions as presents, was despatched by A-hei-ma to promise the seal of Hami on condition that the imprisoned embassy should be released. Some of the Chinese ministers proposed to break off entirely the intercourse with T'u-lu-fan. In 1491 A-hei-ma sent again lions to China, and his envoys promised that the seal of Hami, and eleven captured cities belonging to Hami, should be surrendered; and indeed the restitution of the seal and the cities ensued, whereupon the emperor ordered the embassy of T'u-lu-fan, in the whole twenty-seven men, to be released. The latter had not yet reached the frontier, when a new embassy despatched by A-hei-ma, consisting of thirty-nine men, reached Peking. But meanwhile A-hei-ma had again attacked Hami (in 1493), captured the city, and made prisoner *Shan-ba*, the prince of Hami. As soon as this fact had become known, the emperor ordered the arrest of all the members of the embassies of A-hei-ma in China, in the whole 172 men, and their imprisonment at Kan chou. At the same time the passage through Kia yü kuan was shut up. Besides taking these measures, the Chinese government rallied troops, who marched to attack A-hei-ma. The latter, being apprehensive of a simultaneous attack by his other neighbours, who hated him also (the Oirats), thought it more prudent to withdraw and abandon Hami to the Chinese. But he took Shan-ba with him as prisoner. This happened in 1495. It was only in 1497 that Shan-ba was released, when A-hei-ma sent him to the Chinese frontier, and solicited the permission of again sending tribute. The emperor agreed. Then, in 1499, an embassy arrived from T'u-lu-fan, and solicited the release of the 172 men of the former embassies imprisoned in Kuang tung (Canton).[977] The emperor granted this request.

In 1504 A-hei-ma died. There was a struggle between his sons about the succession. Finally, the eldest, by name of *Man-su-rh*, got the upper hand, declared himself Su-t'an, and sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1513 *Bai-ya-dsi*, prince of Hami, who was an incapable ruler, abandoned Chinese protection and fled to T'u-lu-fan. Man-su-rh sent to take possession of Hami. Henceforth the Chinese government had no authority with respect to Hami, and was frequently troubled by Man-su-rh, who invaded Su chou and Kan chou. In 1528 it happened that one of his generals, *Ya-lan*, surrendered to the Chinese. Ya-lan was originally a man from K'ü-sien (see farther on). He had been made prisoner by Su-t'an A-li when he was a boy, and subsequently he had married a sister of Ali. Man-su-rh, when he heard of this treason, got very angry. He tried at first to cause the *Wa-la* (Oirats) to unite with him for an invasion of Su chou, and then entered into negotiations with the Chinese about the delivery of Ya-lan. But the Chinese government were not willing to accede.

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[977] Probably a mistake for Kan chou. *Vide supra.*

Man-su-rh died in 1545, designating his eldest son, *Sha*, as his successor. But Sha's brother, *Ma-hei-ma*, laid claims to the throne, and took possession of a part of Hami. After marrying a wife from the Wa-la people (Oirats), he, together with these allies, attacked his brother.

In 1547 envoys from T'u-lu-fan arrived with tribute to the Chinese court. It was settled that T'u-lu-fan was to send tribute once every five years.

In 1570 *Sha* died, and his brother *Ma-hei-ma* ascended the throne of T'u-lu-fan, and despatched an embassy to China. But his three brothers revolted, and one of them, named *So-fei*, aspired to the crown, calling himself *Su-t'an*, and sending an embassy to China.

During the reign of emperor Wan li, 1573–1620, no embassy from T'u-lu-fan has been recorded in the Chinese annals.

This is a *résumé* of the history of Turfan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, drawn from the Ming history. Not wishing to fatigue the reader with a literal translation of the whole article, I have omitted many details destitute of interest.

I may notice here that in the "Mém. conc. les Chinois," t. xiv. p. 242, 245, 247, Father Amiot has translated three petitions addressed to the emperor of China by *A-hei-ma* and *Shan-si-ting*, envoys from T'u-lu-fan.

Turfan seems to have been a powerful kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As has already been noticed, the name Turfan does not appear in the records of the authors, either Chinese or Mohammedan, referring to Eastern Turkestan in the Mongol period, whilst they frequently mention the city of *Huo chou* or *Karakhodjo* in the country of the Uigurs, situated about twenty-seven English miles east of modern Turfan. The Chinese notice Turfan for the first time *s. a.* 1377. This leads us to suppose that this city was built only a few years earlier, and then became the residence of the rulers of those tracts. According to the *Si yü wen kien lu*, a Chinese description of Turkestan of the last century, "turfan," in the language of the people of Turkestan, means "residence." The names of the rulers of Turfan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as given in the Chinese account, are for the greater part found in the Tarikhi Rashidi, a history of Eastern Turkestan or Moghulistan, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, and other Mohammedan historical records referring to the same country.[978]

According to the Mohammedan authors, it was Khizr Khodja Khan of Kashgar and Moghulistan, end of the fourteenth century, who, next Kashgar, made *Turfan* the second capital of the Moghul empire. The *In-ghi-rh-ch'a*, ruler of Turfan, who, according to the Chinese annals, had been expelled by *Wai-sz'*, is not mentioned by the Mohammedan authors, but Wai-sz' is without doubt the *Weis Khan* of Moghulistan whom the Tarikhi Rashidi states to have been killed in 1428. After his death a division among the Moghuls took place. *Yunis Khan* reigned in Transoxiana, whilst *Isan Buka*, + 1462, and after him his son, *Dost Mohammed*, + 1468, ruled over Eastern Moghulistan. The son of the latter, *Kepek Sultan*, is expressly stated by the Mohammedan authors to have ruled in Turfan. This may be the sovereign of Turfan who, in 1469, sent an envoy to inform the Chinese emperor that he had taken the title of *Su-tʻan*. Sultan Ali of Turfan, who, according to the Chinese annals, in 1473 captured Hami and died in 1478, is not noticed by the Mohammedan historians. But his son, *Su-tʻan A-hei-ma*, whose death the Chinese record *s. a.* 1504, is without doubt the *Sultan Ahmed Khan* of the Tarikhi Rashidi, where it is stated that already in the lifetime of his father, Yunis, he governed the Eastern Moghuls, with *Aksu*, *Turfan*, &c. He was defeated by Sheibani Khan in 1503, and died of grief in 1504. He left seventeen sons, of whom *Mansur*, the eldest, succeeded. All the sons quarrelled. Mansur exercised authority at *Aksu* and in the whole territory to the east as far as *Chalis* and *Turfan*. He died in 1544. This is the *Su-tʻan Man-su-rh* of the Chinese authors, according to whom he died in 1545, and was succeeded by his son *Sha*, evidently the *Shah Khan* of the Mohammedan historians. Compare also note 1013.

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[978] Compare Erskine's "History of India under Baber and Humayun," 1854, i. p. 35–68, 537–540; Bellew's "History of Kashgar," 1875; Yule's "Cathay," 576.

Yule, "Cathay," 576, quotes a passage from Haidar Razi, who in the last century wrote a history of Turkestan, and states that *Jalish* (Kharashar) is a city near *Turfan*, both places being under a prince called *Mansur Khan*, who is mentioned about 1531 as marching by *Jalish* to attack *Aksu*.

Turfan since the fifteenth century has been repeatedly visited by Western Mohammedan and Christian travellers.

The embassy of *Shah Rok* (see note 957) passed through Turfan. In *Hadji Mohammed's* account of Kathai, A.D. 1550, it is stated that from *Camul* to *Turfon* are thirteen days' journey ("Cathay," ccvii.).

We know that Benedict Goës, on his journey from India to China in 1605, halted a month in the fortified town of *Turphan* (*l. c.* 578). About a century and a half later the Jesuit missionaries, by order of the emperor K'ien lung, visited these tracts, and Father *d'Espinha* even determined astronomically the position of Turfan in 1756 (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 467). But after this, Eastern Turkestan remained again inaccessible to European exploration for more than a century. Dr. *A. Regel* was the first modern European traveller who visited Turfan, in 1879, and published an account of the city and a sketch map of it (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 205, 1881, map 18). These regions, however, are still very imperfectly known, and what we know about them is almost exclusively derived from Chinese sources of information.

We have seen that no trace of commercial or diplomatical intercourse between China and Turfan is found in the Ming shi posterior to A.D. 1570. After a long suspension of intercourse, an embassy from T'u-lu-fan to the Chinese court is again recorded in the annals of the present dynasty under the year 1646. We read in the *Sin kiang chi lio* a description of Turkestan, 1820, that in this year *A-bu-le A-ha-me-t'e* (Abul Ahmed), prince of T'u-lu-fan, despatched an embassy with tribute to Shun chi, the second emperor of the Manchu dynasty. *Sub anno* 1731 it is recorded that *A-min ho-dja,* chief of the Mohammedans in T'u-lu-fan, acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese emperor, and in consideration of his merits he was invested with the military rank of commander of a division, and accordingly transferred his residence to *Kua chou* (nearer to China).

When the author of the Si yü wen kien lu visited Eastern Turkestan, about 1760, *T'u-rh-fan* was the residence of *Su-li-man,* son of *A-min huo-djo,* who ruled over six cities, viz., *T'u-rh-fan, Pi-djan, Lu-gu-ts'in, Se-geng-mu, T'o-k'o-sun, Ha-la-huo-djo.*[979] Whilst the other cities of

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[979] All these six cities are marked on the Chinese map west and east of

Turkestan were administrated by officers appointed by the Chinese government and changed according to the rules, Su-li-man had been left hereditary ruler of his country. Among these cities, the Chinese author says, only *Tʻu-rh-fan* is well populated. The whole population of all these cities may be estimated at 3000 families at the most. For the greater part they are very poor, and not able themselves to provide for their livelihood. In summer-time it is very hot there, and dust is whirled up by the wind. To the south-east of Tʻu-rh-fan is a mountain ridge entirely destitute of vegetation. Here the sun-blaze is insupportable, wherefore these mountains have been named *Huo yen shan*, or "fire mountains" (*vide* note 964). It is not very cold there in winter-time, and snow is also scarce. The products of the country are wheat, millet, sesam, and many varieties of water-melons, melons, and grapes, the best in the west. The soil is fertile. Cotton and beans are much cultivated. One *li* north of Tʻu-rh-fan there are sometimes heavy hurricanes, carrying away donkeys and sheep. To the south of Tʻu-rh-fan all the land is a desert, in which great herds of wild camels and wild horses are found.

The Sin kiang chi lio enumerates in the whole twenty-nine cities and smaller places depending on Turfan. After the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese in the last century, the more important cities there received Chinese names. Thus Turfan was named *Kuang an chʻeng*.

Turfan. Their position is more correctly indicated on Regel's map. Regel, however, visited only Turfan, Toksun, and Karakhodjo. In the name *Pi djan* we can trace the *Pao chuang* in Wang Yen te's itinerary (A.D. 982). This Chinese traveller on his way from Hami to Kao chʻang (Karakhodjo), after crossing a desert, came to *Pao chuang*, then passed by *Liu chung* (Liu chʻeng, Lu-gu-tsʻin, *v. supra*), and reached Kao chʻang. *Tʻo-kʻo-sun* is also an old name.

THE MILITARY DISTRICTS OF *SI FAN.*

Under this head the Ming shi, in chap. cccxxx., gives a historical account of the country south and south-east of Lake Kukenor during the Ming period. It is stated there that the name *Si fan* is applied to the territory situated beyond the frontiers of the Chinese provinces of Shen si (then including the eastern part of present Kan su) and Sz' ch'uan, and inhabited by various tribes of Tangut race, anciently known in Chinese history under the name of *Si Kiang.*

The military districts established there by the first Ming emperor, Hung wu, were ruled by native chiefs, who had acknowledged Chinese supremacy, and who were placed under the direct control of four military administrations, which had their seats in *Si ning, Ho chou, T'ao chou,* and *Min chou* (south-east of Lake Kukenor, in Kan su). In 1512 the country of the Si fan was ravaged by the Mongol chief *I-bu-la T'ai shi,* who took possession of the province of *Ts'ing hai* or *Kukenor.*

The Kuang yü ki, chap. xxiv. fol. 24, notices that *Si fan* comprises the territory to the south-west of Shen si, west of Sz' ch'uan and north-west of Yün nan. There were two *wei* or more important military districts in Si fan, viz., *Do-gan* and *Lung ta*, and thirty smaller dependencies, all enumerated in the Ming Geography as well as in the Kuang yü ki. The tribute presented by the Si fan tribes to the emperor used to be carried to the court at Peking by way of *Ya chou* in Sz' ch'uan.

The same Chinese works give also a short account of the mountains, rivers, and products of the Si fan country.

The *K'un lun* chain, a high mountain to the north-east of the district of Do-gan, is covered with eternal snow. Its local name is *I-rh-ma-bu-la.*[980] The Yellow River runs 500 *li* south of this mountain.

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[980] The K'un-lun mountain, celebrated in Chinese legends, dividing Tibet from Mongolia and the Tarim basin.

On the border of Si fan there is the lake *K'o-bo*. It is more than seventy *li* in circumference. It discharges its water towards Yün nan. This river unites with the river *Si-rh*, and then takes the name *Yang-pi*. The *Hui* river (the Chinese character, not distinctly printed, is perhaps to be read *Dseng*) comes out from the south-east (south-eastern border of Sifan ?) and is called *Lu* river.[981]

The *Huang ho*, or Yellow River, takes its rise on the western border of the district of *Do-gan*, west of the tribe *Ma-hu-man*. Farther on, the river in its course is for some distance hidden underground and reappears again on the surface, forming more than a hundred springs or lakelets like stars. The native name of these lakes is *Huo-tun nao-rh*. The river then takes for more than 100 *li* a north-easterly direction and forms a great lake. Farther eastward, the river takes the name *Chi pao ho*. It is joined by the *Hulan* and other affluents, and finally takes the name *Huang ho*.[982] The Ming Geography mentions several tributaries of the Upper Huang ho; but these names are not found on modern maps.

Si fan in Chinese means "Western Barbarians." The Chinese generally apply this name to the tribes who have their seats in the alpine country south of Lake Kukenor, the land of the sources of the Yellow River, and in the north-western mountainous part of Sz' ch'uan; but sometimes the Chinese historians use it as a synonymous term for Tibet. For further particulars see the article on

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[981] *K'o-bo* is perhaps intended for *Gokpo*, one of the sources of the Bramaputra, and *Yang pi* for *Tsanpa*, an affluent of the latter river. The *Lu* river or *Salwen* is marked in the same regions on our maps. Compare Colonel Yule's interesting investigations regarding these rivers in his article "The River of Golden Sand," 1880.

[982] According to modern Chinese maps, the plain in which the above-mentioned lakelets are found is called *Odon tala* (starry plain) by the Mongols, and *Sing su hai* (starry lakes) by the Chinese. The large lake noticed in the Ming Geography is the *Oring nor* of our maps. After leaving this lake the river takes the Mongol name *Khatun gol*.

Tibet in Part III. The Ming shi terms Tibet *Wu sz' dsang* (see farther on).

The Chinese identify *Si fan* with *Tangut* (Hyacinth's "History of Tibet and Kukenor," pref. viii.). Indeed, the Tangutans of Przewalsky, north-east of Tibet, in the Kukenor country,[983] correspond to the Si fan.

The rest of chap. cccxxx. in the Ming shi is devoted to six other military districts, situated partly in Kukenor and Northern Tibet, partly in Kan su, west of Kia yü kuan. I shall give an abstract of these accounts presently.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *AN-TING.*

An-ting is situated south-west of *Kan chou*, 1500 *li* distant from that city. At the time of the Han dynasty here the country was called *Rh K'iang.*[984] In the T'ang period it belonged to the kingdom of *T'u-fan* (Tibet, *v.* p. 23). In the days of the Mongol dynasty An-ting was the appanage of a Mongol prince, *Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh,* who had the title *Ning wang.*[985] This country was properly called *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* (Sari-Uigur).[986] It is about 1000 *li* in extent, borders to the east on *Han-dung* (see farther on), to the north on *Sha chou*, to the south on *Si fan* (Kukenor). There are no cities in this country. The people dwell in felt tents and breed plenty of camels, horses, cattle, and sheep.

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[983] Now-a-days the basin of the Kukenor lake and the mountainous regions in which the greatest rivers of China, the Huang ho and the Yang tsz', take their rise, are comprised by the Chinese in the general name *Ts'ing hai* or Azure Sea, which has the same meaning as *Kukenor* in Mongol.

[984] Comp. History of the Anterior Han, chap. xcvi. The name *Kiang* in ancient times was applied to the tribes who lived in the Kukenor country and North-Eastern Tibet.

[985] The title *Ning wang* was first bestowed, in 1306, upon Kubilai Khan's eighth son, *K'uo-k'uo-ch'u.* See Yüan shi, chap. cvii., genealog. table. *Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh,* who ruled over An-ting when the Ming expelled the Mongols from China, seems to have been a descendant of that prince.

[986] I have not been able to find the name An-ting mentioned in the Yüan history, but the name *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* occurs there once. Plano Carpini also mentions the *Sari-Huiur.* For further particulars see i. 263. I am not prepared to say whether the place *Sari* marked on our maps of Tibet, between 34° and 35° N. lat. and about 86° E. long., *Sa-li* of the Chinese maps, has anything to do with the Sari Uigurs.

In 1370 the emperor Hung wu sent an envoy to this country to make known the imperial manifestos, and in 1374, in the sixth month, Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh sent one of his chief officers, by name *Ma-t'a-rh*, and others to offer tribute to the Chinese court. They brought armour, swords, and products of their country. The emperor was much delighted, and received the embassy kindly. Subsequently a Chinese officer was despatched to An-ting, who divided the country into four tribes (districts), namely, *A-duan*, *A-djen*, *Jo-sien*, and *T'ie-li.*[987] The prince (Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh) in the next year sent one of his officers to the Chinese court to offer the tablet of authority written with golden and silver letters which formerly had been granted to the prince by the Yüan. He begged the emperor to establish in his country two *wei* or military districts in *An-ting* and in *A-duan;* to which the emperor assented. He bestowed on Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh the title *wang* (prince), and to one of his officers, *Sha-la*, the military rank of *chi hui*. In 1376 the emperor despatched an officer to An-ting with presents for the prince and his officers. In the next year the prince was killed by Sha-la, and his son perished likewise. A revolution broke out in the country. *Do-rh-dji-ba*, a general, revolted, withdrew to the *Sha mo* (desert), and from there appeared again to plunder An-ting. He took also with him the imperial seal. In 1392 the Chinese general Lang Yu with his host marched out westward (from Kan su, it seems), and advanced as far as the river *A-djen*. In 1396 the emperor sent one of his officers to set in order the affairs of An-ting, and to re-establish the military administration there. In 1413 *I-p'an-dan*, a grandson of Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh, who had retired to *Ling-dsang*,[988] offered tribute to the emperor, who invested him with the title prince of An-ting. It happened in 1424 that Chinese envoys who had been sent to *Wu-sz'-dsang* (Tibet) rested on the rivers *Bi-li-dju*[989] and *Huang yang ch'uan* (Antelope river), when they were attacked by the troops of *San-k'o* and *San-dsi-sz'*, the first being one of the chieftains in An-ting, the other a chi hui of *K'ü-sien*. They robbed the embassy, killed the envoys, and fled. When the emperor heard of this violation of his authority, he became very angry, and sent out considerable forces under the command of *Li Ying* and *K'ang Shou* to pursue the rebels. Li Ying arrived at the *K'un-lun* mountains, and proceeding several hundred *li* westward, reached the country *Ya-ling-k'uo*, where he met the rebels of An-ting and defeated them with great slaughter. But the rebels of K'ü-sien had got wind and succeeded in hiding themselves. Li Ying then returned.

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[987] Of *A-duan* we shall speak in the next article. On *A-djen* see farther on. It was also the name of a river. *T'ie-le* is probably the *T'e-le* of the Mongol annals (*v.* i. 263).

In 1446 *I-p'an-dan* died, and his son, *Ling-djan-gan-sie-rh*, succeeded him as prince of An-ting. He died in 1490, and was succeeded by his son, *Ts'ien-ben.* At that time the prince of Hami had died without leaving a son. The Chinese government wished that *Shan-ba*, a descendant of a lateral branch of the princes of Hami, from which the princes of An-ting also derived their origin, should be placed on the throne of Hami. Shen-ba then was living in *K'ü-sien* (see farther on). But Ts'ien-ben raised claims in favour of his brother. Nevertheless Shen-ba was elected prince of Hami.

Under the reign of Cheng te, in 1512, the Mongol chief *I-bu-la T'ai shi*, followed by the tribe *A-rh-t'o-sz'*, conquered *Ts'ing hai* (Kukenor, *v. supra*), and ravaged the adjacent countries. Thus they destroyed also the principality of An-ting.

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[988] *Ling-dsang* is again mentioned farther on in the article *Wu-sz'-dsang* as situated in Tibet.

[989] The name of a river *Bi-li-dju* occurs for a second time in the article *A-duan* (see farther on). The great highway to Tibet passed by this river.

The name An-ting is not found on modern Chinese or European maps referring to the regions in question. Its position in ancient times can only be approximately determined from the particulars above translated. It was situated west of Kukenor, somewhere near the K'un-lun mountains.

More than ten years ago, the well-known traveller Captain H. Trotter, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Peking, informed me that, according to the Pandits entrusted with the survey of Tibet, there is north-west of the Tenkiri lake, in the country where the Sokpo Kalmuks live, a famous monastery called *Adjan*. This name is known also to the Mongol Lamas in Peking. It may be that it is connected with the district of the same name noticed in the Ming history.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *A-DUAN*.

A-duan is comprised in the country of *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* (see note 986). As we shall see, the Ming shi notices farther on that A-duan borders east on *Han-dung*, north on *Sha chou*. In 1375 emperor Hung wu established here a military administration. Subsequently A-duan was plundered by *Do-rh-dji-ba* (see article An-ting). In 1406 the chief of A-duan, by name *Siao-sie*, and others, arrived at Peking to offer tribute, and solicited that the military administration in their country might be re-established. The emperor agreed, and bestowed upon Siao-sie and the other chiefs military ranks.

In the reign of *Hung hi* (1425–26) the chief of K'ü-sien, by name *San-dsi-sz'* (the same who had in 1424 robbed the Chinese envoys on their way to Tibet), induced one of the chi hui of A-duan, by name *So-lu-dan*, to unite with him for plundering once more a Chinese embassy. The emperor sent a great host in their pursuit, but the Chinese were not able to lay hold of the robbers. They could only prohibit their returning to their countries. In 1431 the emperor appointed *Djen-dji-han* to administer the military district of A-duan. Although his father had been implicated in the robbing of the Chinese envoys, and Djen-dji-han had accordingly retired to the river *Bi-li-dju*, where the great highway to *Wu-sz'-dsang* (Tibet) passes, the emperor had pardoned him, and he had returned with his clan to their former seats in *T'ie-rh-gu.*

In this article on A-duan it is finally stated that there was a realm of the same name in the country of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans), distant one month's journey from T'ie-rh-gu.

As to the last-mentioned *A-duan*, it seems to me that here *Khotan* is meant, which in the Yüan shi is generally termed *O-duan* (*v. supra*). However, as we shall see farther on, the Ming shi treats of Khotan under its ancient Chinese name *Yü-t'ien.*

But regarding the country *A-duan*, which properly forms the subject of this article, and which, according to the Chinese accounts, was originally comprised in the territory of Sa-li Wei-wu-rh, 1500 *li* south-west of Kan chou, I have little doubt that it must be looked for in the regions where the Yellow River takes its rise. In the Yüan shi, chap. lxiii., we find a dissertation on the *Sources of the Yellow River.* It is stated there that in 1280 Kubilai Khan despatched one of his high officers, *Tu-shi*, to explore the sources of the *Huang ho.* Tu-shi ascertained that the sources of this river consist of more than a hundred lakelets or marshes, which, when looked upon from an elevated place, have the appearance of a constellation, wherefore this country is called *O-duan nao-rh*, which is the same as *Su sing hai* in Chinese (starry sea). *Odun* in Mongol means "star," *nor* = lake. On modern Chinese maps the country from which the Yellow River issues is termed *Odun tala* (starry plain).

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *K'Ü-SIEN.*

It lies south-west of *Su chou,* and borders to the east on the district of An-ting. It is comprised in that country where anciently the *Si Jung* or *Si K'iang* of the Han period, or the *T'u-fan* in the days of the T'ang dwelt.[990] The Yüan (Mongols) established here a military administration (*yüan shi fu,* properly "head-quarters"), called *K'ü-sien da-lin.*

In the reign of the first Ming emperor, the chief of K'ü-sien arrived with tribute at the Chinese court. The rank of *chi hui* was bestowed upon him. A military administration was established at K'ü-sien. When *Do-rh-dji-ba* revolted (*v. supra*), the people of K'ü-sien were partly destroyed, and the rest annexed to the district of An-ting. They dwelt in the country called *A-djen* (*v. supra*).

In 1406 K'ü-sien was again separated from An-ting. The rank of chi hui was bestowed upon *San-dsi,* who had then charge of the district of K'ü-sien. *San-dsi-sz'* was appointed his assistant, but subsequently, at his request, was allowed to move and govern the country *Lo-wang-huai.* Eighteen years later, San-dsi-sz', together with one of the chieftains of An-ting, attacked and plundered a Chinese embassy. A Chinese host marched out to punish them (as has been related above), but was not able to seize San-dsi-sz', who, with his people, had hidden himself at a long distance. Subsequently he was pardoned by the emperor, who invited him even to return and to administer 42,000 tents (families). San-dsi-sz' then sent an embassy to thank the emperor, and offered camels and horses. In 1430 a Chinese envoy, who had returned from the *Si yü* (Western countries), reported that San-dsi-sz' again had stopped and robbed envoys carrying tribute to the court, and that he had entirely shut up the passage. The emperor then became very angry, and ordered great forces to be sent in pursuit of the robbers. San-dsi-sz' succeeded in escaping before the Chinese arrived, but his companion, *Tʻo-tʻo-bu-hua*, was completely defeated and killed. At length San-dsi-sz' was again pardoned, sent an embassy to express his thanks, and then was allowed to return to his country, where he died in 1432. He was succeeded by his son, *Du-li.* In the reign of Chʻeng hua (1465–88), the *Tʻu-lu-fan* (people of Turfan) invaded and ravaged Kʻü-sien. In the reign of Hung chi (1488–1506), *Shan-ba*, the son of the prince of An-ting, who lived in Kʻü-sien, was called to rule over Hami (*v. supra*). In 1512 the great headman of the *Meng-gu* (Mongols), *I-bu-la*, followed by the tribe *A-rh-tʻu-sz'*, after making himself master of Tsʻing hai (Kukenor), ravaged also Kʻü-sien, and destroyed the military administration there.

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[990] All these names were applied in ancient times to Tibet and tribes of Tibetan race.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT *CHʻI-GHIN* OF THE *MENG-GU* (MONGOLS).

Proceeding from *Kia yü kuan* westward twenty *li*, one arrives at a place called *Ta tsʻao tʻan* (high grass shoal). Farther on thirty *li*, the *Hei shan rh* (Black hill) is reached, and seventy *li* from the Black hill is *Hui-hui mu* (Mohammedan tomb). Farther west forty *li* is *Shen ma chʻeng* (gelding's city). There is a remarkable *tun tʻai*, in which look-out soldiers are kept.[991] Eighty *li* west of this place lies *Chʻi-ghin.*[992] At the time of the Han dynasty there was here the district of *Tun huang;*[993] at the time of the Tsin the district of *Chang kün.* In the Tʻang period this land belonged to *Kua chou,* and in the Mongol period to the circuit (*lu*) of *Sha chou.*

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[991] The Chinese beacon-towers of the Ming are well described by Persian travellers in the fifteenth century. See Dr. Zenker's above-quoted translation of the Khitai nameh.

[992] The greater part of the above-mentioned places west of *Kia yü kuan* are found on the great Chinese map on the road between this gate and the city of *Yü men hien.* There are on the Chinese map two posts or stations, *Chʻi-ghin*, viz., *Chʻi-ghin hu tʻai* (post at the lake *Chʻi-ghin*) and *Chʻi-ghin hia tʻai* (post at the defile of *Chʻi-ghin*). A river runs between these two posts connecting two lakes.

In A.D. 1380 the (Ming) general Pu ying, on his expedition westward, arrived at *Po chʻeng* (White city), captured the Mongol commander *Hu-du Tʻie-mu-rh,* then reached the post of *Chʻi-ghin,* and made *I-lien-djen,* prince of *Pin,*[994] and his people, consisting of fourteen hundred men, prisoners. He seized also the golden seal (granted by the Mongol emperors), and then returned. Subsequently a Mongol tribe took again possession of Chʻi-ghin. There was a Mongol by name *Tʻa-li-ni,* the son of *Kʻu-dju,* an ancient (Mongol) minister. He lived at first in the country of *Ha-la-tʻo,* and in 1404 came with more than five hundred men to submit. He was appointed commander of a thousand, with an imperial seal in *Chʻi-ghin,* where a military post (*su*) was established. Tʻa-li-ni distinguished himself on several occasions in attacking and capturing rebels and robbers. The emperor in return advanced him to the rank of *chi hui tsʻien shi.* In 1410 this military post was raised to a *wei* (military district). In 1411 Tʻa-li-ni died, and his son *Tsʻie-wang-shi-ghia* succeeded to

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The stations *Chighin pu* and *Chighin hia* appear in Colonel Matussowsky's itinerary (1875). In 1879, August, the expedition of Count B. Szechenyi passed by the same route from Kia yü kuan *viâ* Yü men hien and An si to Sha chou. Lieutenant G. Kreitner, the diarist of this expedition ("Im Fernen Osten," p. 645), mentions the same stations, but writes the names erroneously *Tscha tjen pu* and *Tscha tjen hia.* According to him, Tscha tjen hia (or Chighin hia) is situated on a lovely oasis abounding in grass and water. There is a little lake, into which three mountain rivers discharge themselves.

[993] In the second century B.C. the Chinese established four districts in these regions at the north-western frontier, viz., *Tsiu tsʻüan, Wu wei, Chang ye,* and *Tun huang,* the westernmost of these districts, situated west of Yü menkuan.

[994] According to the genealogical table of the Mongol dynasty (Yüan shi, chap. cvii.), the title princes of *Pin* had been bestowed upon some descendants of Hulagu, Ilkhan of Persia. In this table *I-lien-dji Ba-ti* appears as a descendant of Hulagu in the fourth generation.

him. He presented tribute and received a Chinese rank. In 1436 it happened that one of his subjects, a military officer, had plundered an embassy proceeding from *A-duan* in the *Si yü* (Khotan, *v. supra*) with tribute to China, and even killed the envoy and twenty-one men of his suite. But he was punished at the demand of the emperor, and obliged to deliver the goods he had robbed. In 1440 a Chinese envoy who went to Hami passed through Ch'i-ghin. Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia supplied him with provisions, mules, horses, and even gave him a convoy. In return the emperor raised him in rank. In the next year it was reported to the emperor that a man belonging to Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia's tribe, but pretending to be a man from Sha chou, used to stop the envoys coming with tribute from the *Si yü* and plunder them. The emperor ordered the culprits to be punished. At that time the *Wa-la* had become powerful,[995] and frequently invaded the neighbouring countries. Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia, who feared them, solicited from the emperor permission to retire to Su chou. But the emperor did not assent, promising to protect him. In 1443 *Ye-sien,* the chief of the *Wa-la,* sent an envoy with presents to Ch'i-ghin and asked Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia's daughter in marriage for his son, and at the same time he asked a daughter of the chief of *Sha chou* as wife for his younger brother. But both refused, notwithstanding the emperor's advice to accept the proposition. In 1444 Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia, who had grown old, retired, and his son *A-su* took the administration of Ch'i-ghin, and was confirmed by the Chinese emperor. Ye-sien twice sent envoys to him to propose a marriage, but A-su refused.

In 1448 it happened that Chinese troops, escorting an envoy to the prince of Hami, when resting in the city of *K'u yü* (see note 948), were attacked by the commander of the troops of Ch'i-ghin, who surrounded the city. But the Chinese made a sortie, defeated the rebels, and took the leader prisoner. A-su was a faithful adherent of China, and resisted the proposition Ye-sien made him to make a league with him against the emperor. He died in 1466. His son *Wa-sa-t'a-rh* succeeded him. He died in 1471, and was succeeded by his son *Shang-bu-t'a-rh* in the administration of Ch'i-ghin.

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[995] The *Wa-la* or Oirats, at the time here spoken of, had even a preponderating influence at the Mongol court at Karakorum.

In 1473 the *Su-t'an* of *T'u-lu-fan*, having captured Hami, sent envoys to Ch'i-ghin with a letter to the commander of the troops there, inviting him to attack China; but the commander put the envoys to death and sent the letter to the emperor. In 1482 Ch'i-ghin assisted *Han-ch'en* in retaking Hami (*v. supra*). In 1483 the neighbouring tribe, *Ye-mie-k'o-li* (see note 941) invaded and plundered Ch'i-ghin. Subsequently the *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) frequently ravaged this district, and finally destroyed the military station there in 1513. The Chinese government then removed the remains of the Mongol tribe of Ch'i-ghin to the southern mountains of Su chou. In 1528 they hardly numbered a thousand men.

The Ming Geography enumerates the following natural productions in the district of Ch'i-ghin:—

Camels,—*hu-t'ung-lü*, the exudation of a tree (*Populus euphratica*, see note 944), which is used for soldering gold and silver.—*Po-mo ken*,[996]—*kin t'ing ts'ao* (a plant unknown to me),—*jou ts'ung jung* (*Phelipaea*, a plant used as a medicine by the Mongols, *v.* i. p. 102),—*sha tsao* (sand jujubes, the Chinese name for the fruit of *Elæagnus*),—*fu kin* (gold dust),—*nao sha* (sal ammoniac, see note 975),—*ku fan* (a mineral, unknown to me).

Klaproth ("Asia Polyglotta," 269) as well as Howorth ("Mongols," i. 499, 500) are disposed to identify the *Ch'i-ghin Mongols* of the Ming period with the *Khoshotes* or *Kalmuks* of Kokenor of our days. Delamarre, in his

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[996] According to the Pen ts'ao kang mu, chap. xii., this is a plant with yellow flowers, which resembles the *mu su* or lucerne, and the roots of which are used as a medicine.

"Histoire des Ming," 177, translates the above name *Tche-kin Moung-kou*, according to the meaning of the Chinese characters, by "Mongols aux haches rouges." But *Ch'i-ghin* is without doubt a Mongol word, meaning "ear," frequently used in Mongol geographical appellations. Archimandrite Palladius, in his "M. Polo in N. China," observes that Ch'i-ghin is properly the name applied to two lakes there, the great and the little one. Kreitner, on the map appended to his narrative of Szechenyi's journey, indeed places two lakes in the vicinity of Chighin.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *SHA CHOU.*

Proceeding from Ch'i-ghin 200 *li* westward, one arrives at *K'u yü* (see note 948). From this place the way leads at first southward, then westward, and after advancing 190 *li* the traveller reaches *Kua chou.*[997] Four hundred and forty *li* west of Kua chou lies *Sha chou.*[998] At the time of the *Han* here was the district of *Tun huang*, situated at the border of the *Si yü*, opposite and not far from the two fortresses *Yü men kuan* and *Yang kuan.*[999]

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[997] On the great Chinese map "Ancient Kua chou" appears about 190 *li* north-west of K'u yü, 100 *li* east of Tun huang hien (Sha chou), south of the road which leads from this city to An si chou. Kua chou was founded in the beginning of the T'ang period, A.D. 622. Lieutenant Kreitner, who accompanied Count B. Szechenyi on his expedition to Tibet in 1879, visited the ruins of *Kua chou* ("Im Fernen Osten," 673, 676). It was a large and populous city till about 1869, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedan rebels. The site assigned to this place on the Chinese map seems to be correct.

[998] There is evidently a mistake in the figures. Przewalsky ("Tibet," 93) visited *Sha chou* in June 1879. He states that Sha chou is also called *Tun huang*. Lieutenant Kreitner, who reached *Tun huang hien* in the same year a few months earlier, states that the ruins of ancient Sha chou are situated opposite modern Tun huang, between the left bank of the *Tan* river and its branches ("Im Fernen Osten," p. 658, Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1882, p. 418). The Chinese map, however, locates "Ancient Sha chou"—I am not able to say on what authority—about 100 *li* south-west of Tun huang.

[999] The fortresses *Yü men kuan* and *Yang kuan* were built in the reign of the Han emperor Wu ti, about 120 B.C., west of Kia yü kuan. The foundation of Tun huang falls in the same period. See note 993. Yü

Sha chou was founded under the *Wei* dynasty (386–558).[1000] During the *T'ang* dynasty the name was not changed. Subsequently the *T'u-fan* (Tibetans) took possession of Sha chou. In the days of the *Sung* Sha chou belonged to the *Si Hia* (Tangut empire). In the Mongol period there was a circuit (department) *Sha chou lu.*

The history of Sha chou during the Ming period, as related in the Ming shi, has a great resemblance to what has been recorded with respect to the afore-mentioned districts. When the Ming established their power in China, Sha chou was, like Ch'i-ghin, in the possession of a Mongol tribe.

In 1404 two of the chieftains of Sha chou, *K'un-dsi-lai* and *Mai-dju,* came in person to submit to the emperor, who ordered to establish at Sha chou a military district, and put at the head of it the aforesaid chieftains, bestowing on them the ranks of *chi hui shi.* Mai-dju died in 1410, and then K'un-dsi-lai alone administered Sha chou.

In 1424 it happened that an envoy of *T'ai p'ing,* prince of the *Wa-la* (Oirats, *v. supra*), on his way to the Chinese court found the passage barred by robbers, when K'un-dsi-lai gave him an escort. The latter was accordingly rewarded by the emperor. In 1425 envoys from *I-li-ba-li* (Moghu-

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men kuan stood on the same place where now-a-days the city of *Yü men hien* lies; the site of *Yang kuan* was, according to the Chinese authors, 130 *li* south-west of Tun huang.

[1000] The Ming shi is wrong. As I have stated above, the name of Sha chou dates from the year A.D. 622. According to the Geography of the Yüan dynasty (quoted in the Ming Geography), the name of Sha chou is derived from the *Ming sha shan,* the rumbling sandhill near that place. The description of Tun huang hien states that the sand rolling down the hill produces a particular sound similar to that of distant thunder. Compare also about Sha chou, p. 18, and with respect to the rumbling sandhill, the report of a Chinese envoy of the tenth century, translated by Rémusat in his "Ville de Khotan," p. 77. According to this traveller, the rumbling sands producing sounds similar to those of thunder are ten *li* south of Kua chou. See also in Yule's "Cathay," p. 156, ccxliv., about the Friar Odoric's account of the sandy hill in Tartary, on which he heard the sounds of invisible drums.

listan) and *Sa-ma-rh-han* were plundered in the territory of Hami by robbers from Sha chou. The military governor of Su chou received orders to pursue them. In 1426 K'un-dsi-lai's people were suffering from dearth, and he sent an envoy to China to solicit a loan of corn, promising the restitution in autumn. The emperor, complying with this request, said: "I consider you foreigners also my subjects, and therefore do not require the restitution." The emperor despatched also one of his eunuchs to Sha chou to bestow presents on K'un-dsi-lai. In 1432 there was again dearth in Sha chou, and the emperor consented to relieve the people with corn supplied from Su chou. In the same year the envoys from *Ha-lie* (Herat), who had carried tribute to the court, complained that they had been plundered on their way in the district of Sha chou by *Go-yu*, the chi hui of Ch'i-ghin. K'un-dsi-lai then received orders to inquire into this matter.

In 1434 K'un-dsi-lai sent an envoy to the court complaining that the district of Sha chou was frequently plundered by robbers from *Si fan* (Tangut), who robbed men and cattle; and as he was not able to resist them, he solicited permission to withdraw and settle with his people at the ancient city of *Ch'a-han.* But the emperor did not agree, saying: "You have been living in Sha chou for more than thirty years; your people breed plenty of cattle and horses and have become wealthy; your arguments have no foundation." But in the next year, 1435, Sha chou was plundered by the people of Hami, and as K'un-dsi-lai feared also the *Wa-la*, he decided to abandon Sha chou, and with 200 followers presented himself at the Chinese frontier in a state of extreme penury. The Chinese governor at the frontier supplied them with corn, and proposed to the emperor to establish K'un-dsi-lai at *K'u yü.* One part of his tribe had emigrated to Hami. Subsequently the chi hui of *Han-dung* (see farther on) established himself in the district of Sha chou, but he was expelled by the chi hui of *Ch'i-ghin.* In 1440 the emperor ordered the Chinese governor at the frontier to rebuild the city of *K'u-yü* with the assistance of Chinese soldiers. In the winter of 1441 the work was finished. K'un-dsi-lai sent an envoy with presents to thank the emperor. In 1442 he died. His eldest son, *Nan-k'o,* with two younger brothers, went to the Chinese court to offer tribute. Nan-k'o received the rank of *tu tu ts'ien shi* and returned. Subsequently a great number of Nan-k'o's people made preparations for emigrating to the Wa-la, but the Chinese government succeeded in good time in stopping the emigration, and in 1446 they transferred the whole tribe from Sha chou, more than 200 families, numbering more than 1230 men, to China, to the district of *Kan chou.* The city of Sha chou was abandoned by the Chinese, and *Ban-ma-sz'*, the chief of *Han-dung,* took possession of it.

The brother of Nan-k'o, by name *So-nan-ben,* was not willing to obey the Chinese government, and surrendered to *Ye-sien,* the chief of the *Wa-la.* But the Chinese, who had been informed that So-nan-ben lived in Han-dung, succeeded in capturing him. It had been proposed to execute him, but on account of the merits of his father and brother the emperor pardoned him. He was sent to *Tung ch'ang* (in the province of Shan tung).

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *HAN-DUNG.*

It is situated south of Ch'i-ghin and south-west of Kia yü kuan. It lies also in the land which in the days of the Han constituted the district of Tun huang.

In 1392 a general of the Ming, when pursuing robbers, arrived in the country of *Han-dung.* A great number of the people living there fled and hid themselves. But subsequently they returned, and in 1397 the chief of the tribe, by name *So-nan-ghi-la-sz',* sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court. The emperor then ordered a military administration in Han-dung to be established.

As I do not wish to fatigue the reader further by records of embassies sent to the Chinese court, of predatory excursions, and of the plundering of embassies, I may briefly state with respect to the history of Han-dung that it resembles much the histories of the aforementioned military districts. Han-dung was also ruled by native chiefs who had Chinese rank. The troops of Han-dung, numbering 3000 men, assisted China in the war with Turfan. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Mongols began to oppress the people of Han-dung. The Mongols at that time had taken possession of *Tsʻing hai* (Kukenor). At length the Chinese government transferred the whole tribe of Han-dung to Kan chou.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT *HAN-DUNG* THE LEFT.[1001]

This is the same as ancient *Sha chou.* There had been a discord among the people of Han-dung, and one part of them, conducted by *An-chang,* had settled on the territory of Sha chou, after this district had been abandoned by Kʻun-dsi-lai (*v. supra*). After An-chang's death his son *Ban-mu-sz'* was put at the head of the tribe. He was suspected by the Chinese government of acting in collusion with *Ye-sien,* chief of the *Wa-la.* He died in the reign of Chʻeng hua (1465–88), and was succeeded by his grandson, *Dji-kʻo.* In 1479 the Chinese government established at the ancient city of Sha chou the military administration of Han-dung the left. Dji-kʻo then was placed at the head of it. At length the Sultan of Turfan took possession of this district.

THE COUNTRY OF *HA-MEI-LI.*

This country is not far from the district of Kan su. The prince *Wu-na-shi-li,* a relative of the Yüan (the Mongol house reigning in China), was living there when that dynasty was overthrown by the Ming. In 1380 the Chinese general *Pu Ying*, who exercised his troops in *Si liang* (present Liang chou fu in Kan su), solicited from the emperor permission to move out with his troops and take possession of the country of Ha-mei-li, in order to open through it a commercial route. The emperor agreed, but advised Pu Ying to be cautious. When Wu-na-shi-li had heard of the general's marching out, he offered his submission, and in the next year despatched the Mohammedan *A-lao-ding* (Alaeddin) with tribute to the Chinese court. The emperor rewarded him, and sent an officer to the country of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs)[1002] to make known to the foreigners his manifestos.

[1001] The Chinese character *tso,* the left side, is commonly used for the east, but in this case it seems west is intended, for Han-dung, according to this account, lay south of Ch'i-ghin, and Han-dung the left or Sha chou must have been west of it.

In 1390 the emperor was informed that Wu-na-shi-li frequently disturbed the adjacent districts, and used to stop the caravans of the Mohammedans in the Si yü when passing through his territory, and even when they went by another way he plundered and killed the envoys. The emperor grew very angry, and ordered the commander of the troops in Kan su and another general to punish Wu-na-shi-li. The Chinese forces marched out from *Si liang*, proceeded westward, and in the night arrived at the city of Ha-mei-li, which they surrounded. One of Wu-na-shi-li's officers came out to surrender. The next morning Wu-na-shi-li ordered more than 300 horses to be driven out from the city, and whilst the Chinese were hunting after the horses, he himself, with his family, succeeded in escaping. The Chinese captured his city. *Bie-rh-k'ie T'ie-mu-rh*, the prince of *Pin*,[1003] and 1400 men were killed. The son of the prince and 1730 men were made prisoners. The golden and silver seals (bestowed formerly upon the prince by the Mongols) fell also into the hands of the Chinese.

Chapter cccxxxi. of the Ming shi treats for the greater part of Tibet, and then refers to some kingdoms of India which had political intercourse with China.

[1002] Thus it seems that Ha-mei-li was comprised in the country of the Uigurs.

[1003] With respect to the princes of *Pin*, compare note 994.

WU-SZ'-DSANG (TIBET).

We have seen (*v.* p. 24) that already in the Yüan history Tibet is sometimes designated by this name, which seems to be a corruption of the joined names of the two provinces *U* and *Tsang*.

The Ming shi states that Wu-sz'-dsang lies west of the border of the province of *Yün nan*, and is more than 1000 *li* distant from the city of *Li kiang fu*, 1500 *li* from *Ma-hu-fu* in Sz' ch'uan, 5000 *li* from *Si ning* in Shen si.[1004]

Besides the successors of *Ba-sz'-ba*, whom Kubilai Khan had constituted chief Lama of Tibet (and who had their residences, it seems, at Lhassa), the Ming shi mentions seven other heads of the Lamait Church in Tibet. In the beginning of the fifteenth century the Chinese emperor bestowed upon them Chinese titles.[1005]

A-NAN-GUNG-DE, A KINGDOM IN *SI T'IEN*.[1006]

In 1374 *Bu-ha-lu*, the ruler of this country, sent his chief explainer (*kiang chu*), by name *Bi-ni-si*, with tribute to the Chinese court. He brought, among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralising poison.

[1004] The distances seem to refer to *Lhassa*, the capital of Tibet.

[1005] For further particulars on the subject see Klaproth's "Magazin Asiatique," ii. 213. Klaproth translates the article *Si dsang* (the modern Chinese name for Tibet, *Western Dsang*), found in the Great Geography of the present dynasty.

[1006] *Si t'ien* (Western Heaven) is a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works.

A-nan-gung-de sounds like *Annagoondy*, which, according to W. Hamilton ("East India Gazetteer," 1828), is the name by which the Canarese designated the celebrated city of *Bijanagur*, founded in 1336 on the Toombuddra river, on the right bank of which the ruins of it can still be seen. Opposite, on the left bank, are the vast ruins to which the name of Annagoondy is usually applied. About 15° 20′ N. lat. In 1443 Shah Rok sent an embassy to the king of Bijanagur. See "India in the Fifteenth Century," by Major, 1857, Hakluyt Society.

After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom.

At the end of the short record of the embassy from A-nan-gung-de the Ming history notices also an embassy sent to the Chinese court by the *kuo shi*[1007] *Do-rh-dji kʻie-lie-shi sz'-ba dsang-bu* of *Ho-lin.* This embassy reached the Chinese capital at the same time as that from A-nan-gung-de. The annalist explains that *Ho-lin* is the name of the capital of *Tʻai tsu,* the first Mongol emperor.[1008] The kuo shi had despatched his *kiang chu* (chief explainer), by name *Ju-nu-wang-shu,* to present to the emperor a Buddha's statue of copper, sacred relics, white cloth called *ha-dan,* one seal of jade, four seals of gold, five of silver, three tablets of authority with golden letters; all these things having been bestowed upon the kuo shi in former times by the Mongol emperors. The emperor received the envoy kindly. In the next year the kuo shi of Ho-lin once more sent presents, a Buddha's statue, relics, and two horses. The emperor bestowed upon the envoy a priest's robe of silk.

NI-BA-LA, A KINGDOM OF *SI TʻIEN* (INDIA).

Ni-ba-la is situated west of *chu Dsang* (literally the whole *Dsang* or Tibet), and quite far from China. The rulers of this country are Buddhist monks. In 1384 the emperor Hung wu despatched a Buddhist monk thither with an imperial rescript and presents. This envoy visited also the adjacent kingdom of *Di-yung-tʻa.* The king of Ni-ba-la, by name *Ma-da-na lo-mo,* then sent in return an embassy to the emperor to present a Buddha's statue of gold, five horses, &c. This embassy reached the Chinese capital in 1387. Three years later another embassy from the same country arrived, and the emperor Yung lo subsequently again sent envoys to Ni-ba-la. At that time the name of the ruler of Ni-ba-la was *Sha-go-sin-di*, and that of the ruler of Di-yung tʻa was *Kʻo-ban.*

[1007] *Kuo shi,* or "teacher of the empire," was a title given by the Mongol emperors to the chief lamas. The Ming annalist explains the term by *fan seng,* or Tibetan lama.

[1008] The Ming shi is wrong, for *Ho-lin* or *Karakorum* was only founded by Chinghiz' successor Ogotai in 1235.

In 1418 the emperor Yung lo despatched one of his eunuchs to Ni-ba-la, and on his way thither this envoy passed through *Han-dung, Ling-dsang, Bi-li-gung-wa, Wu-sz'-dsang* (Lhassa), and *Ye-lan-bu-na.*[1009]

The kingdom of Ni-ba-la of the Ming historians seems to be Nepal. It is mentioned much earlier in the Chinese annals. The Tʻang History records several embassies from *Ni-pʻo-lo* to the Chinese court in the seventh century. The first arrived in 647. A few years earlier the Chinese Buddhist monk Hüan tsang had visited this kingdom (Beal's "Si yu ki," ii. 82). The early Chinese accounts of Nepal have been translated by A. Rémusat in his "Nouv. Mél. Asiat.," vol. i.

The Ming shi gives the names of two kings of Nepal who reigned towards the end of the fourteenth century, viz., *Madana lomo* and *Shagosindi.* Wright, in his "History of Nepal," 1877, p. 178–180, mentions for the same period *Mati sinha deva* and *Sakti sinha deva*, who successively reigned there. *Shyama sinha deva*, the son of Sakti, is stated to have sent presents to China, which so pleased the emperor that he sent in return a seal with the name Sakti sinha engraved on it, and in addition the title of *Rama.*

THE KINGDOM OF *SU-DU-SUNG-DJO.*

This is a kingdom of *Si fang* (literally Western Region, another Chinese name for India, which occurs in Chinese translations of Buddhist works. See note 1006).

[1009] We have already met with some of these names of countries or places in previous pages of the Ming history. They are not found on our maps of Tibet and the adjacent countries. These regions are still very imperfectly known.

The emperor Yung lo in 1405 despatched an envoy to that country; but owing to the great distance, no embassy from there was seen in China.

After this the Ming shi treats again, in the same chapter, of some districts situated apparently in Tibet.

DO-GAN.[1010]

This place (or country) is stated to be situated beyond Sz' chʻuan. It borders on the south with Wu-sz' dsang. The Yüan (Mongol dynasty) first established a military administration in Do-gan. I omit the details on the history of Do-gan.

THE SÜAN WEI SZ'[1011] OF *CHANG HO SI*, *YÜ T'UNG*, AND *NING YÜAN*.

These districts were all situated beyond Sz' chʻuan in Tibet. These names (Chinese names) occur already in the Yüan History. The Mongols first established a military administration there. I omit the details.

THE SÜAN WEI SZ' OF *DUNG-BU* AND *HAN-HU*.[1012]

These districts are stated to lie west of *Wei chou* in Sz' chʻuan. (Wei chou of the Ming period answers nearly the present *Wen chʻuan hien.*)

The 332d and last chapter of the Ming shi treats of *Bishbalik* or *Ilibalik* (Moghulistan, Jetes), *Kashgar*, *Khotan*, *Sairam*, *Yanghikand*, *Tashkand*, *Shahrukia*, *Andedjan*, *Samarkand*, *Bokhara*, *Khorassan* (?), *Kash*, *Termed*, *And-*

[1010] We have seen that the Ming Geography notices *Do-gan* as one of the military districts in the country of the Si fan.

[1011] *Süan wei sz'* is a Chinese superintendency over foreign tribes.

[1012] Tibetan names, it seems.

kut, *Badakhshan*, *Herat*, *Kerman*, *Isfahan*, *Shiraz*, *Tauris*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Rum*, and, besides these, notices a number of other places and countries of Central and Western Asia, the identification of which presents some difficulties.

BIE-SHI-BA-LI (BISHBALIK, MOGHULISTAN, JETES).[1013]

Bie-shi-ba-li is a great empire in the *Si yü* (countries of the West). It is bordered on the south by *Yü-tʻien*

[1013] There can be no doubt that by *Bie-shi-ba-li* or Bishbalik (the name of the empire was subsequently changed into *I-li-ba-li* or Ilibalik) the Chinese from the end of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century understood the eastern part of the so-called "Middle Empire," assigned originally to Chinghiz Khan's second son, Chagatai. As can be proved by comparative investigations, Bie-shi-ba-li of the Ming History is the same as the empire of the *Jetes* or *Getes* of the Mohammedan chroniclers treating of the same period. It was known in the west also under the name of *Moghulistan* (not to be confounded with the country occupied by the true Mongols to the eastward). Timur, in his Autobiography (Stewart's transl., 46, 73), terms this empire Desht *Jitteh* (*desht* means desert), and considers the Jitteh his countrymen. Thus they were the followers of the descendants of Chinghiz. As can be concluded from the Mohammedan records, the empire of the Jetes embraced in the days of Timur the present Dsungaria, with Ili and the greater part of Eastern and Western Turkestan. I am not prepared to give any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the names *Jetes*, *Jitteh*, or *Getes*, as some orientalists write it. It is certain that it was unknown to the Persian authors before Timur's time, and it disappears again in the authors posterior to the first half of the fifteenth century. Sherif-eddin, the author of the Zafer nameh, records in detail the expeditions undertaken by Timur against the Jetes in Moghulistan, as does also Arab Shah. Abder-Razzak (+ 1483), who wrote the history of Shah Rok, mentions the Jetes *s. a.* 1425. Some orientalists, in the first place De Guignes, have tried to derive the name of the Jetes from that of the *Yue-ti*, a nation mentioned in the Chinese annals since the second century B.C., and the *Getæ* and *Massagetæ* of the classical authors. It has also been made a question whether the *Jats*, so widely extended over the Pendjab, on the banks of the Indus, and in other parts of India, belong to the same race as the Jetes in Central Asia. See Vivien de St. Martin's interesting investigations on the subject at the end of his treatise, "Les Huns Blancs," 1849.

In order to corroborate the Chinese records regarding Bie-shi-ba-li, I may put here together what I have been able to gather from various sources with respect to the history of Moghulistan and the Jetes. My information is derived from the Tarikhi Rashidi, transl. by Erskine (*v.* p. 150); from Khondemir's Habib essiier, transl. by Defrémery (*v.* p. 150);

(Khotan), on the north by the country of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), on the west by *Sa-ma-rh-han* (Samarkand), and

from Timur's Autobiography, transl. by Stewart (*v.* p. 151); Sherif-eddin's Zafer nameh, transl. by Pétis de la Croix (*v.* p. 150), and Abder-Razzak's history of Shah Rok, transl. by Quatremère (*v.* p. 151). Compare also Colonel Yule's able notes on the subject in his "Cathay," 522.

The immediate successors of Chagatai continued to reside chiefly in the desert. But within a century of Chagatai's death it had become much the custom for the Khans of the Middle Empire to take up their residence in the rich and populous country of Maverannahar. In this period a division of the Middle Empire had taken place, and two separate Khans governed, the one in Maverannahar, the other in the country of the Moghuls and Kashgar. This division existed already in 1321, for the Mohammedan chroniclers tell us that in this year *Il khodja*, called also *Isan Buka*, who reigned in Maverannahar, was called by the inhabitants of Kashgar, Yarkend, Alatagh, and Uiguristan, who found none among them of the posterity of Chagatai who might fill the throne which was then vacant (Abul Ghazi, p. 165). Maverannahar continued to have its proper Khans, who, however, were entirely in the hands of their ministers, the amyrs, until at length the great *Timur* set himself upon the throne of Maverannahar in 1370.

Isan Buka seems to have reigned in Moghulistan till about 1330, when he died. After a long interregnum, in 1347 his son *Tughlak Timur* ascended the throne, 1347–63. Some years after his accession he became a convert to the Musulman faith. Tughlak Timur owed the throne to the Amyr *Yuladji*, of the powerful family of *Daghlat*, who then was hereditary ruler of *Kashgar* under the Moghul Khans, a man of great influence. Tughlak Timur twice, in 1360 and 1362, invaded and overran Maverannahar, where he established his son Elias Khodja. On the death of Yuladji he bestowed the father's office on his son Amyr *Khodaidad*, then only seven years old. Against this nomination *Kamar-eddin*, a younger brother of Yuladji, remonstrated, claiming the office (at Kashgar) as belonging of right to himself. But the Khan persisted in supporting Khodaidad.

Elias Khodja Khan, 1363–65.—He was in Samarkand when his father died, where he was opposed by the chiefs of the country, headed by Amyr Husein, and by the illustrious Amyr Timur, who at length defeated him, and Elias was compelled to return to his paternal dominions in the desert of *Jeteh*, where after a short reign he was assassinated by Kamar-eddin.

Kamar-eddin, 1365–89, the usurper.—After putting to death eighteen males of the family of Elias, he assumed the title of Khan and the government of the country. But many of the Moghul tribes refused to acknowledge him. Timur, in his Autobiography, 148, *sub anno* 1373, calls him only "the slave and commander-in-chief of the Jetes."

Timur was engaged in war with his eastern neighbours, the Jetes, during almost the whole time of his reign.

In 1370 or 1371 the Jetes advanced towards Maverannahar. Timur, at to the east it is contiguous to *Huo chou* (Karakhodjo).[1014] It is distant (probably the ordo of the Khan is meant)

the head of a numerous army, marched out from Samarkand, and advanced rapidly as far as *Nekah.* When he had reached *Sairam* and *Penki*, the Jetes fled. He went as far as *Senghizi Agadje*, taking great booty, at length arrived at *Adun Kuzy*, and returned to Samarkand (Zafer nameh, ii. 8).

In 1375, in January, Timur marched out from Samarkand against Kamar-eddin, who had advanced to invade Maverannahar. When Timur's avant-guard had reached beyond *Sairam* and arrived at *Jarun*, they learned that Kamar-eddin was encamped at *Gheuk tupa* (near the Ili river; see note 803). Timur's son, Jehanghir, went to beat up his camp; Kamar-eddin, however, sought refuge in a mountain pass called *Birke Ghurian*, but on Timur's arrival fled again. Amyr Hussein, one of Timur's generals, having been drowned in the river *Ab Ile* (Ili), Jehangir pursued Kamar-eddin through a country which was full of trees and caves. Then his troops devastated the district of the Jetes called *Uch-Ferman* (pronounced *Uch Turfan*, west of Aksu). Kamar-eddin again escaped. Timur stayed fifty-three days at *Baitak* (written also *Bayak*). Among the prisoners taken there was the wife of Kamar-eddin and his daughter *Dilshad Aga*, whom Timur subsequently took as his wife. Timur leaving the camp, proceeded to the mountain of *Karakasmak* (*Shemak* in the Autobiography), where he met his son Jehangir. From there they marched to *Atbashi* (*v.* p. 50), and reached the beautiful plains of *Arpaiazi* (*Azbehbary* in the Autobiography), where Timur passed two pleasant months in the season of spring.* After this Timur returned to Samarkand by way of *Yassi daban* and *Uzkend* (Zafer nameh, ii. 14).

In 1376 Timur sent the Amirs Sar Bugha, Adil Shah, and others with 30,000 horse into the country of the Jetes against Kamar-eddin; but these Amirs revolted and marched towards Samarkand, which they besieged. Timur, who was then on an expedition to Kharezm, returned. His son Jehangir had already defeated the rebels, who fled for refuge to Urus, Khan of Kipchak, and subsequently joined Kamar-eddin, whom they persuaded to join them in making war upon Timur. They proceeded to invade *Andedjan* (Ferghana), and compelled Timur's son Omar Sheikh, who was governor there, to retreat. Timur then immediately marched against the enemy, who fled. When Timur had reached the village of *Atbashi* (*v. supra*), accompanied only by 200 men, Kamar-eddin, who had remained in ambuscade, briskly sallied out and fell upon Timur. But he was repulsed, and when Timur's army arrived, they pursued Kamar-eddin, and defeated him at *Senghezigadge.* Not being able to seize him, Timur returned to Samarkand (Zafer nameh, ii. 16–18).

Sar Bugha and Adil Shah, who had deserted from Timur, having wandered for two years among the mountains of *Karachuk* (*Karatau* chain from Kia yü kuan in the south-east 3700 *li*. It is believed that Bie-shi-ba-li occupies the same tracts as in ancient

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* I may observe that *Arpa* is the name of a river on the route from the Atpash river to Uzkend in Ferghana. It forms one of the sources of the Alabuga, an affluent of the Naryn, and runs partly in a broad valley. See Kostenko's "Turkestan," i. 241.

east of the Sihon; see i. p. 170), finally acknowledged their fault and requested Timur's pardon. Timur gave orders to bring them to his presence. When they arrived at *Otrar*, Sar Bugha surrendered, but Adil Shah, being alarmed, fled again and took refuge at *Aksuma*, which is the name of a tower built on the top of the mount *Karachuk*, a place designed for a guard to the country, because one may observe from there what is done in the plains of Kipchak. But Timur went into the mountain in search of this rebel, who was seized and put to death. Sar Bugha was pardoned, and served as guide in the campaign against the Jetes (Zafer nameh, ii. 19).

Timur ordered his son Omar Sheikh to march against Kamar-eddin directly, whilst Ketai Bahadur should make a detour and get in the rear of the enemy's camp. Omar Sheikh with the main body reached the plain of *Khuratu*, where Kamar-eddin was encamped, and defeated him. But Kamar-eddin again succeeded in escaping. Ketai having plundered the country of the Jetes, rejoined the prince and they returned to Samarkand.

The troops were no sooner upon their return than Timur resolved to march in person into the country of the Jetes. His avant-guard marched day and night, and then came upon Kamar-eddin at *Bugam Asigheul* (Issikul?), where they put him to flight after a furious battle, and then ravaged the country. Timur afterwards pursued Kamar-eddin as far as *Kuchar* (Zafer nameh, ii. 20).

In 1383 the Zafer nameh (ii. 42) records another expedition sent by Timur against Kamar-eddin. His generals proceeded by *Atakum* and *Behrin*, arrived at *Issigheul* (Issikul), and advanced as far as *Gheuktopa* in search of Kamar-eddin. Not being able to find him, they returned in autumn to Samarkand (Zafer nameh, ii. 42).

Khizer Khodja Khan of Moghulistan, 1389–99.—He was the son of Toghlak Timur. When Kamar-eddin put to death the family of the Khans, he was still at the breast. Aided by his mother, the Amyr Khodaidad (*v. supra*) had concealed this child in *Kashgar*. The boy when twelve years old was conveyed to the hill country between *Kashgar* and *Badakhshan*, then to the hills of *Khotan*, and finally to *Sarigh-Uigur* (*v.* i. 263) and *Lob Kanik*, far in the east, where he remained for twelve years more. When Kamar-eddin's power was on the decline, the young man was brought back and raised to the Khanship by Amir Khodaidad under the style of Khizer Khodja. He contended bravely against Timur in the field.

The Zafer nameh (iii. 5) reports under the year 1389 (the year of Khizer Khodja's accession) an expedition undertaken by Timur to Moghulistan Timur had just defeated the army of Toktamish of Kipchak near the Sihun, when he resolved to march thence directly into Moghulistan. The army was divided into two bodies. Mirza Omar Sheikh was sent one way, Timur with the other body proceeded to *Karaguchar*, where he encamped. Omar Sheikh defeated the enemy in the plain called *Ichmas Alagheul* times *Yen-k'i* and *Kui-tsz'*.[1015] In the days of the Mongol emperor *Shi tsu* (Kubilai Khan), there was at Bie-shi-ba-li

(Alakul lake ?). Timur sent two of his generals in search of the enemy. They marched day and night and arrived at the river *Irtysh*. They took a great many prisoners, and returned with the spoils to the royal camp. Timur then passed the great desert, and after many days' journey arrived at *Aimal guju* (on the Emil river (?); see note 818), and lodged in the palace *Serai Urdam* (Serai ordo). Here a general council was held, and it was decided to ravage the country of the Jetes in various directions. The army was divided into several bodies. The road each body had to take was set down in written memoirs. The country of *Yulduz* was designated as rallying-point. The prince Omar Sheikh crossed the mountain *Dubeshin Andur* and arrived at *Kara koja*, which is three months' journey from Samarkand by the caravan (*v.* p. 186). Another body, commanded by the Amir Jehan shah and Sheikh Ali, went to *Kara art* and *Shurugluk*. Another body, commanded by Osman Abbas, passed by *Saghizgan*, *Sugulgan*, *Ligh*, and *Geveyar*. Khodaidad Huseini and Mobasher Bahadur, at the head of another body, went by *Urichu* to *Bikut*, where they defeated the hordes of *Bulgagi* and *Ilker*. Timur himself proceeded by the road of *Oluk kul*, and having ascended the mountain *Sichkan daban*, met those Bulgagis and defeated them. The Amirs Yadghiar Berlas and Soliman Shah, who had been left in Western Turkestan, between Jete and Kipchak, when Timur invaded the latter country, received also orders to march into Moghulistan. They came to the mountain *Urdaban*, crossed the river *Ab Eile* (Ili river), and arrived at *Sutgheul* (the Sairam lake, see note 476), and at length at *Chicheklik*. From there they went to *Balaikan*, and whereso-ever they met enemies they destroyed them. When they came to *Molzudu* they met Khizer Khodja, Khan of Moghulistan, at the head of a great army, and attacked him. The fight lasted two days, when the battle was finished by a treaty, according to which the Amirs departed with their troops towards *Yulduz*, the general rendezvous. Timur having passed by *Keitu* and *Konghez** arrived at *Yulduz*. Having heard the report about the battle with Khizer Khodja, he marched quickly, following the track of the Moghul Khan. He crossed the river at *Ulakianaor*, passed the great desert, and arrived at *Kara bulak*. From there he went to *Tebertash*, and coming to *Kushon kai*, he discovered the enemy's army, who however fled, favoured by the darkness of the night. Timur having passed the mountain *Nairin Keutel* pursued the enemy as far as *Karatash*. Then Khizer Khodja abandoned his kingdom to save his life. In the meanwhile the other bodies of Timur's army terribly ravaged the country of the Jetes, and gave no quarter to any one of the inhabitants of that country. They advanced as far as *Kulan Keutel*, took possession of an infinite number of horses, camels, and sheep, and made abundance of slaves.

When the victorious Timur came to *Jalish*, all the immense booty was divided among the soldiers (Jalish is the same as Kharashar, *v.* p. 200). At length, decamping from Jalish and passing by *Kagirtu* and *Bilaghir*, a *süan wei sz'* (see note 1011); subsequently it became a *yüan shuai fu* (head-quarters of a Mongol corps).[1016]

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* This is the name of one of the rivers which by their junction form the *Ili* river.

Timur arrived at *Yulduz*, where he encamped. The Amirs and the several bodies of the army who had ravaged all the quarters of Moghulistan and destroyed the Jetes, came to this place, laden with spoils. The Zafer nameh adds that *Yulduz* is a place of great delight and pleasure; the many delicious fountains and abundance of pasture render the living therein very agreeable. The beauty of its fountains is the reason of it name, for Yulduz means "the Morning Star." The grass there is so strong and nourishing, that the leanest horses, when they have been a week in its meadows, become fat and strong.*

From thence Timur sent Mirza Omar Sheikh to his government of *Andedjan* (Ferghana), ordering him to pass by the way of *Kaluga* (Iron gate). When he had passed this defile he met the prince Kublik, one of the great Amirs of the Jetes, defeated him and cut his head off. The prince Omar then continued his road by *Kusan* (Kucha), *Uch ferman* (Uch Turfan), and the great city of *Kashgar*, and at length successfully arrived at *Andedjan*, his residence.

Timur then resolved to return to Samarkand. He departed from *Kechik Yulduz* (Little Yulduz) at the head of his army, and when he had arrived at *Olug Yulduz* (Great Yulduz), he appointed a solemn feast and a magnificent entertainment. They passed several days in this joyful manner. On the 10th of August 1389 Timur departed, and made such expedition that he arrived at Samarkand on the 31st, although the distance is generally accounted two months' journey by the caravan (Zafer nameh, iii. 5–7).

At that time Kamar-eddin was still alive. It seems that after the flight of Khizer Khodja and the returning home of Timur's army, he had again established his power in Moghulistan. In 1390 Timur was obliged to send once more a vast army against this usurper. This army was commanded by Soliman Shah, Khodaidad Huseini, Shamseddin Abbas, and other generals. Having crossed the Sihun at Tashkend, they marched to *Issigheul* (Issikul lake), where they met 5000 men sent from Andedjan by Mirza Omar Sheikh, who joined them. When they arrived at *Gheuk topa* (*v.* p. 227), they stayed some days to inform themselves of the state of the enemy, and then took the road to the mountain *Arjatu*, and advanced as

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* It is impossible to venture on any identification of most of the places, mountains, &c., mentioned in the above itineraries of Timur's expedition into Moghulistan, for the tracts to which they refer are still very imperfectly known. We can, however, ascertain the position of *Yulduz*, which latter name appears also in the itinerary of Shah Rok's embassy to China in 1420 (Yule's "Cathay," cc.). We knew for a long time from Chinese maps that there is a mountain Yulduz or *Djulduz* north-west of Kharashar, and a river of the same name. Przewalsky was the first European who visited this part of the T'ien shan in 1877. He states that *Yulduz* is the name of an elevated plateau, covered with luxuriant herbage and abounding in water. It is celebrated throughout Central Asia for its beauty, its springs, meadows, and fine breezes. It is the promised land of cattle. See Przewalsky's "Travels from Kuldja to Lobnor," p. 42, 21. According to Przewalsky, the Yulduz consists of two parts; the western part is called the *Great Yulduz*, the eastern the *Little Yulduz*.

In the reign of Hung wu (1368–99), when the Chinese general *Lan Yü*, on his expedition to the *Sha mo* (Mongo-

far as *Almalegh*, where, having swam over the river *Ab Eile* (Ili), they advanced to *Karatal*, a horde of Ankatura (a prince of the Jetes), where they learnt that their avant-guard of 400 horse had fallen in with Kamar-eddin in a hunting country and had been defeated. The Amir then sent several of their captains to the field of battle, where they received intelligence that Kamar-eddin had marched towards the field of *Ichna Buchna.* The Amirs immediately departed in search of the enemy, and having passed by Ichna Buchna, they arrived at *Uker Keptadji*, where they left their baggage and departed thence towards the *Irtish.* When they had reached the banks of this river, they learnt that Kamar-eddin had crossed it and was gone towards *Taulas* in the woods, where sables and ermines are said to be found. They saw the rafts and boats the enemy had built to cross the water. The Amirs stayed some days at this place, and then crossed the river and burnt with their arms, made red-hot, characters on the pine trees there, that succeeding ages might see the marks of the arrival of Timur's army beyond the Irtish. But as six months had passed since they came into these wildernesses, where they wanted provisions, and most of them were living on what they got by hunting and on wild roots, and as the air became extremely cold, they resolved to return, which they did by *Altun Kaurke*, where there is a road made on the banks of the great lake called *Etrak gheul;* and making great haste, they happily arrived at Samarkand (Zafer nameh, iii. 9).

This is the last time that Kamar-eddin is made mention of in the Zafer nameh. According to Erskine's sources, he perished, worn out with fatigue and disease, in a wild corner of the desert, where he had concealed himself, accompanied by only two attendants, in about 1393.

As to Khizer Khodja Khan, he finally made peace with Timur, and this pacification he consolidated by giving to the conqueror his daughter Tukel Khanum in marriage. This happened, according to the Zafer nameh (iii. 69, 70), in 1397. The same work reports (v. 4) that in 1399, when Timur was in Karabagh (between the rivers Kur and Araxes), he received the news that Khizer Khodja, king of the Jetes, had paid the tribute to the Angel Israel, and that after his death dissensions arose among his four sons, *Shama Jehan*, *Mohammed*, *Shir Ali*, and *Shah Jehan.*

The same day they also heard that Mirza Eskender, son of M. Omar Sheikh, had availed himself of this favourable opportunity. Eskender, then only fifteen years old, and entrusted by his grandfather with the government of Andedjan (Ferghana), had got together the troops of this province, and, accompanied by the Amirs, had boldly entered the lands of the Moghuls. They advanced to *Kashgar*, and pillaged and ravaged the town of *Yarkand.* Then they marched to *Sarek Kamish*,* *Kelapin*,† *Aligheul*, *Yar kurgan*, *Chartak*, and *Keiuk Bagh*, which places they likewise pillaged.

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* This is now-a-days the name of a lake or marsh south-east of Kucha.

† A mountain of this name is marked on modern maps south-west of Aksu, on the road to Maralbashi.

lian desert), had reached the *Pu yü rh hai*,[1017] it happened that several hundred merchants from *Sa-ma-rh-han* fell

They at length arrived in the province of *Audje* in Moghulistan. All the people submitted. They then laid siege to the citadel of *Aksu*. It consists of three castles, which have a communication with one another, and is considered so strong that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces consider it as a safe asylum in time of war. The Mirza soon encamped with his Amirs without the place, and being prepared to attack it vigorously with instruments for sapping the walls, scaling-ladders, battering-rams, and other machines, he caused several assaults to be made for nearly forty days, when the besieged were obliged to surrender. Several very rich Chinese went out of the place and offered presents. After this the Mirza sent men to make inroads at *Bai* and *Kusan*, the former of which is a cool place, fit for the summer, and the latter a warm place, fit for the winter. These places were pillaged, and some princesses of the Jetes found there were made prisoners.*

Hence they went to plunder the city of *Tarem*. (On the Chinese map a place *Tarim* is marked on the Tarim river, which, as is known, flows into the Lopnor.)

After these conquests the Mirza departed from Aksu for *Khotan*. This city is distant 157 days' journey from *Kambalek*, capital of *Northern China*, called *Katai*, which is a flourishing and populous country, with abundance of water. We count from *Kotan* to *Karakhodja* thirty-five days' journey, from there to *Tetkaul*, frontier of China, forty-one,† where there is a wall situated between two mountains, in which wall is a great gate, and several yam khane or inns to lodge passengers; and soldiers are always at this place to guard the frontier and the entrance of the wall. From here to *Ghen djan fu*, a city of China, is fifty-one days' journey; from that place to *Kambalek* forty. It is also forty from Ghendjan fu to *Nemnai*. The author of the Zafernameh adds that he has been assured that there is another road to go from Khotan to the frontier of China in forty days, but there is not one dwelling-place in it; the sands make it very tiresome, and although the water which is drawn out of the wells in the desert is easily come at, yet in several places it is poison, and kills the animals which drink of it; and what is very surprising, out of two wells at a small distance from each other, the water of one is poisonous and the other perfectly good.‡

From Khotan to *Kashgar* is fifteen days' journey, and from Kashgar to into his hands. The emperor ordered these merchants to be sent home to their country. A Chinese envoy accom-

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* The cities of *Aksu* and *Bai* still exist in Eastern Turkestan, on the great highway leading along the southern slope of the T'ien shan from Kharashar to Kashgar. Kusan is probably *Kucha* (*v.* p. 230). The Si yü wen kien lu also notices Bai as a cool place. According to Kuropatkin, who in 1876 and 1877 visited these places, the elevation of Bai is 3700 feet, that of Kucha 2900.

† *Karaul* in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy; Kie yü kuan. *Tutkaul* means a pass in the Turki language. See Pavet de Courteille's Mem. of Baber, pref. xii.

‡ The author speaks evidently of the direct road from Khotan *viâ* Lopnor and Sha chou to Kia yü kuan. The embassy of Shah Rok on their return journey from China in 1421, having arrived at the frontier fortress (Kia yü kuan), was obliged, owing to the troubles in Mongolia, to take the unfrequented southern route through the desert to *Khotan* and *Kashgar*, instead of the frequented northern route *viâ* Hami, Turfan, &c. (See Yule's "Cathay," ccxi.). Przewalsky, who two years ago

Samarkand twenty-five. In Khotan are two rivers, *Orak kash* and *Kara kash*, the stones of which being jasper, are carried to other countries. These two rivers have their sources in the mountain of *Karangutak*.*

The Mirza thus reduced all the places and castles of the frontier province (of Moghulistan) to Timur's obedience. He at length departed from Khotan and came to *Karangutak*, a very steep and rugged mountain,† to which the inhabitants of Khotan and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war. The Mirza did not judge it convenient to hazard his troops there, but returned and spent the winter at *Kashgar*, and in spring went back to *Andedjan*.

After Khizer Khodja's death in 1399, he was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Khan*. His name, and that of his brother, *Shama jehan*, appear several times in the Zafer nameh and Abder razzak's Life of Shah Rok. In 1397 Shama jehan was at Timur's court. In 1411 Mohammed Khan is recorded to have sent his brother Shama jehan to invade Maverannahr. As we shall see farther on, the Chinese annals assert that Shama jehan had been the immediate successor of Khizer Khodja, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mohammed.

Shir Mohammed, son of Mohammed, succeeded his father according to the Tarikhi Rashidi, but Abder razzak records, *s. a.* 1415, that after the death of Mohammed, Khan of Moghulistan, *Nakshi jehan*, son of Shama jehan, succeeded him. This is in accordance with the Chinese annals. In the next year Nakshi jehan sent an embassy to Shah Rok. According to Mirkhond (and probably also to Abder razzak), in 1425 *Shir Mohammed* was Khan of Moghulistan. In this year Mirza Olug Beg of Samarkand undertook a great expedition into the country of the Jetes, and defeated Shir Mohammed.

Weis Khan, a nephew of Shir Mohammed, having collected in the desert a band of adventurers, carried on a predatory war with his uncle, after whose death he was elected Grand Khan. He was not reconciled to Amir Khodaidad (*v. supra*), who adhered to his uncle, and called in Ulug Beg from Samarkand. Weis Khan was a prince of great energy. He was throughout his reign engaged in constant war with the *Kalmaks*, his eastern neighbours. The Tarikhi Rashidi says that he fought sixty-one actions against the Kalmak chief *Eshan Tayshi*, and only gained a single victory.‡

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proceeded by this road from Khotan to Lopnor, informed me that it presents no difficulties at all. It passes along the northern slope of the mountains, through a well-populated and cultivated country. The difficulties to which Sherifeddin alludes are evidently met in the desert between Lopnor and Sha chou, not yet visited by European travellers.

* Compare about these rivers Rémusat's "Hist. de la Ville de Khotan," 1820, and *infra* note 1044.

† See note 1043.

‡ This is evidently an erroneous statement, for *Essen Taishi*, the chief of the Wa-la or Oirats, was not contemporary to Weis Khan. See p. 165.

panied them. When on his way back, this envoy passed through Bie-shi-ba-li, the king of this empire, by name

Weis Khan had his seat in the vicinity of *Turfan*, where he excavated several *karez*, or subterranean aqueducts, for the irrigation of the fields. He was very fond of hunting the wild camel, and annually made an excursion to *Lob* and *Katak* in pursuit of the game for the sake of their wool, which his mother used to weave into cloth for his vestments, and he wore no other but these.*

In the course of the wars arising out of Ulug Beg's invasion, Weis Khan was accidentally slain by an arrow discharged by one of his own men in 1428–29.

In the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China, *Awis* (Weis) Khan is noticed, 1420, at war with Shir Mohammed, and farther on the diarist speaks of an envoy of Awis Khan who had been robbed. They saw him subsequently in Peking.

Weis Khan left two sons, *Isan Buka* (II.) and *Yunus*, each of whom claimed the succession. The latter sought the support of Mirza Ulug Beg of Samarkand. But Ulug Beg refused this, took Yunus prisoner, and sent him to Herat to his father Shah Rok, who placed Yunus under the care of Sherifeddin, the author of the Zafer nameh, at Yezd, where he remained for twelve years. After Sherifeddin's death he was conveyed to Tabriz, and finally to Shiraz. During this time Isan Buka reigned in Moghulistan. When Mirza Abu Said, of the house of Timur, 1451–68, had established himself at Samarkand, Isan Buka invaded Ferghana. Abu Said, in retaliation, sent for the exiled Yunus, conferred on him the Khanate of Moghulistan, and despatched with him an army into that country.

Isan Buka, who was then at *Yulduz*, the farthest eastern extremity of his dominions, on hearing of this attempt, collected his forces, and set out to the relief of *Kashgar*, which Yunus besieged. A desperate battle was fought, about twelve miles from Kashgar, near *Aksu*. Yunus was completely defeated, and arrived at Herat, where Abu Said then was, in the greatest distress. Abu Said bestowed on him the territory of *Masikhi*, a small hill country dependent on Andedjan and bordering on Tashkend, and sent him to renew the contest. This happened in 1456. Isan Buka died in 1462, and was succeeded by his son, *Dost Mohammed*, who reigned only four years.

Yunus Khan, who, after the death of his brother, Isan Buka, had been joined by many of the tribes, became all powerful when Dost Mohammed died in 1468, and succeeded in establishing his authority in Moghulistan. Dost's son, *Kepek*, then a boy, was carried off by the immediate followers of the family, and they fled with him to *Turfan*, at the eastern extremity of the country, where, some time after, he was murdered. Yunus Khan,

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* From Bellew's translation of this passage (p. 156) it would seem that it refers to Eshan Tayshi. But as the statement is not perfectly clear, I did not hesitate to refer it to Weis Khan. We have seen (p. 194) that according to the Chinese annals Weis Khan took possession of Turfan in 1422.

Hei-di-rh huo-dja,[1013] despatched an embassy to the Chinese court. At the head of this embassy was *Ha-*

after his long sojourn in Persia, had become fond of cities and cultivated countries, and it was not his wish to take up his residence at *Aksu.* But the tribes disliked settled habitations, preferring to dwell under tents, and compelled him to return to the wilds of Moghulistan. After the disastrous expedition of Abu Said to Karabagh on the Araxes, where he perished in 1469, Yunus Khan, in fulfilment of an engagement with Abu Said, bestowed three of his daughters on Abu Said's sons. Thus he became the maternal grandfather of the famous Sultan Baber.

Not very long after, in the course of 1472–73, a *Kalmak* chief, expelled from his own country through intestine feuds, entered Moghulistan on the east with a numerous army. Yunus, on attempting to resist them, was completely defeated on the banks of the Ili river, and fled with the remains of his army westward. He passed the winter at *Kara Tokai*, on the Sihun, and moved in the spring to *Tashkend.* Here he was made prisoner by the governor of this place, who was nominally under the Sultan of Samarkand. It appears that his Amirs, discontented with him, had entered into a conspiracy with the governor. It was only about a year after that Yunus was released from his prison by one of his Amirs, and returned to Moghulistan. The Kalmaks had by this time returned to their own country. Yunus then remained for several years in the deserts of Moghulistan, never even hinting at a wish to visit any town. In 1479–80, Yunus assisted Mohammed Haider Mirza Doghlat, Amir of Kashgar, against his nephew Abu Bekr; but this campaign was not successful, for Abu Bekr was finally left in possession of Kashgar. Much of the latter part of Yunus Khan's life was occupied by his transactions with his sons-in-law the Sultans of Samarkand and Ferghana. He was particularly attached to Sultan Omar Sheikh of Ferghana, the father of Baber, whom he frequently visited. His sons-in-law gave up to him *Tashkend* and *Sairam.* But when the Khan manifested his intention to remain there, a number of the Moghul tribes separated from his camp, and went home, putting at their head his younger son, *Sultan Ahmed Khan,* so that the empire was again severed in Yunus' lifetime. Tashkend and Sairam continued for some time to be the usual residence of one branch of the Moghul Khans. Yunus Khan died in 1496.

Sultan Mahmud Khan, the elder son of Yunus, generally called "the Elder Khan," succeeded to his father as Grand Khan, and reigned over the tribes which had entered Tashkend and Sairam, or that dwelt in the neighbouring steppes. But his younger son, *Sultan Ahmed,* or "the Younger Khan," continued to govern the tribes that ranged in the more distant parts of Moghulistan, *Aksu, Turfan,* &c.

Mahmud Khan was successful in a war against the Sultans of Ferghana and Samarkand. In 1497 he took possession of Turkestan, lower down the Sihun, and the government of this district he bestowed upon Sheibani Khan, the Uzbek, as a reward for some important services. But Sheibani *ma-li-ding*,[1019] a commander of a thousand. He arrived in the seventh month (August) of 1391, and offered as tribute horses and gerfalcons. The emperor received him kindly, and bestowed presents of silk stuffs and cloths upon

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was no sooner established in his government than the scattered Uzbeks began to assemble from all quarters under his banners. His power daily increased.

Sultan Ahmed, the younger Khan, who ruled in Eastern Moghulistan, was a man of great energy and capacity. He made successful inroads on the infidel *Kalmaks*, whom he defeated in two bloody battles, which earned for him the name of "Ilachi Khan," or slaughtering Khan. When his elder brother Mahmud was defeated by the *Kaizak-Uzbeks*, Ahmed marched to his assistance, invaded their territory, and plundered their country. The rapid success of Sheibani, who in 1500 had made himself master of Samarkand, caused the brothers to act in concert against this common enemy. Thus the younger Khan came to Tashkend with about 1500 men. But in 1503 Sheibani defeated the brothers completely, and they fell into his hands. Subsequently he set them at liberty, and they retired into the desert. The younger Khan died of grief a year after, while Mahmud Khan, who had returned to seek the protection of Sheibani, was put to death by order of the Uzbeg in 1508.

When Sultan Ahmed had set out from *Aksu* to assist his brother on the Sihun, he caused his eldest son *Mansur* to be installed as the Khan of the Moghuls; and now, on his father's death, he continued to exercise his authority at *Aksu*, and in the whole territory to the east as far as *Chalis* (*v.* p. 200) and *Turfan*. He died in 1544, and was succeeded by his son *Sha Khan*. Sultan Ahmed, as well as Mansur and Shah Khan, are mentioned in the Chinese annals as rulers of Turfan (see p. 196–198). It seems that this line of the Chagatai Khans survived no longer as such. A son of Ahmed, however, succeeded in founding a dynasty in Kashgar, which maintained itself there for more than a century and a half (see note 1037).

[1014] See above, p. 186, and note 954.

[1015] *Yen-k'i* and *Kui-tsz'*, two ancient kingdoms in Central Asia, first mentioned in the History of the Han before our era. Modern Chinese geographers generally identify them with present *Kharashar* and *Kucha*.

[1016] With respect to *Bishbalik* in the days of the Mongols, which name then was applied to the country of the Uigurs, see p. 27.

[1017] About this lake, the *Taal nor* in South-Eastern Mongolia, compare notes 114 and 906. The expedition here alluded to is that against the Mongols in 1388. The latter were defeated by the Chinese near lake *Pu yü rh hai*. See p. 163.

[1018] *Khizer Khodja Khan* of Moghulistan. See p. 228.

[1019] This name is probably intended for *Kamar-eddin*, but evidently it does not refer to the great captain of the Jetes who bore the same name. See p. 226.

the king and his envoy. In the ninth month of the same year the emperor entrusted the secretary *Kʻuan Chʻe,* the censor *Han King,* and the councillor *Tʻang Cheng* with a mission to the countries in the west. They bore also an imperial letter for Hei-di-rh-huo-djo of the following tenor:—

"Although there are many kingdoms in the world, separated by mountains and seas, and differing one from another in their rules and customs, nevertheless, it seems to me, good and bad feelings, passions and human nature (literally 'blood and breath') are the same everywhere. Heaven assists mankind, and looks benevolently on everybody. It is the same with respect to the ruler on whom Heaven bestowed supreme power. Observing the heavenly rules, he is kindly disposed towards mankind, and shows mercy on everybody. Thus all the various kingdoms of the world are entitled to the merciful regards (of the emperor) and prosperity. When the inferior kingdoms will honour the great ones, Heaven will be propitious to them. In times past, when the rulers of the *Sung* dynasty had become careless, and the wicked officers infringed the laws, Heaven abandoned this dynasty and bestowed the power upon the *Yüan* (Mongols). Shi tsu (Kubilai Khan, the first Mongol emperor in China) arrived from the Mongolian desert to take possession of China and rule there. The people then became easy again, and enjoyed peace for more than seventy years, when the successors of Shi tsu began to neglect the ruling of their people, and appointed unworthy officers who disregarded the laws. The strong oppressed the weak. The indignation of the people cried to Heaven. The heavenly order then was bestowed upon me. I am holding now the sceptre of power, and am ruling over the black-haired people (the Chinese). I pursue with my troops the disobedient. I treat kindly those who submit. In the space of thirty years I succeeded in tranquillising all provinces of the Middle Empire. The foreign kingdoms also pay their respects, and acknowledge my supremacy. Only the Yüan (Mongols) disturbed the

Chinese frontier when my troops advanced to the lake *Pu-yü-rh-hai* (see note 1017), and caused a Mongol prince with his host to surrender. At the same time several hundreds of people from Sa-ma-rh-han, who had arrived for the purpose of trade, were made prisoners, and I despatched one of my officers to carry them back to their country. Since that time three years have elapsed. After my envoys returned, you sent an embassy to me to offer tribute. I am much obliged to you, and wish that you may continue to be on good terms with us, and entertain frequent intercourse with China. I send you my envoys to greet you and laud your zeal."

The emperor's envoys arrived at Bie-shi-ba-li, and transmitted the letter to the king; but when it was discovered that they had no presents for him, the gracious letter of the emperor made no impression upon the sovereign of Bie-shi-ba-li. He retained *K'uan Ch'e*, whilst the other Chinese envoys were allowed to return home.

In the first month of 1397, the emperor despatched once more an officer to the king of Bie-shi-ba-li with the following letter:—

"Since the time I ascended the throne, my officers at the frontier have never thrown obstacles in the way of the foreign merchants who came to traffic with China, and I had also given orders that the foreigners might be kindly treated by my people. Thus the foreign merchants realise great benefits, and there is no trouble at the frontier. Our flowery land (China) is a great power, and we show kindness to your country. Why then has the envoy I sent to you some years ago in order to establish friendly terms been retained? Why do you act so? Last year I ordered all the Mohammedan merchants from Bie-shi-ba-li who had come to China to be retained until my envoy K'uan Ch'e should be released. However, I allowed them to carry on trade in our country. Subsequently, when they complained of their having left their families at home, I commiserated them, and let them return home. Now I send again an envoy to you that you may know my benevolence. Do not shut up the way to our frontier, and do not give rise to war. The *Shu king* says: In a case of dissatisfaction, we may lay aside the question whether it has been caused by an inferior or a superior. The principal things to be taken into consideration are whether the laws of justice have been observed or not, and whether a laudable zeal has been shown or not. Now I ask you, have you been just and have you shown laudable zeal?"

When the king had received this letter he released K'uan C'he.

After Yung lo acceded to the throne he sent an envoy with a letter and presents to the king of Bie-shi-ba-li. But at that time Hei-di-rh-ho-djo had died,[1020] and had been succeeded by his son *Sha-mi-ch'a-gan.*[1021] The latter sent in the next year an embassy to the emperor, offering as tribute a block of rude jade and fine horses. The envoy was well treated and rewarded. At that time it had happened that *An-k'o T'ie-mu-rh*, prince of Hami, had been poisoned by *Gui-li-ch'i*, Khan of the Mongols (*v.* p. 163), and Sha-mi-ch'a-gan made war on the latter. The emperor was thankful, and sent an envoy with presents to him, exhorting the king to be on good terms with *T'o-t'o*, the prince of Hami. In 1406 Sha-mi-ch'a-gan sent tribute, and the emperor accordingly despatched *Liu T'ie-mu-rh*, a high officer, with presents to Bie-shi-ba-li. In the year 1407 Sha-mi-ch'a-gan presented three times tribute. His envoys had been ordered to solicit the assistance of Chinese troops for reconquering Sa-ma-rh-han, which country, as they stated, had formerly belonged to Bie-shi-ba-li.[1022] The emperor sent his eunuchs, *Pa T'ai* and *Li Ta*, together with Liu T'ie-mu-rh, to Bie-shi-ba-li to inquire cautiously into the matter. The envoys presented silk stuffs to the king, and were well received. They returned home in the next year, and brought the intelligence that Sha-mi-ch'a-gan was deceased, and his younger brother, *Ma-ha-ma*,[1023] had succeeded him. The emperor then sent the same envoys once more to Bie-shi-ba-li to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and bestow presents on Ma-ha-ma. When, in 1410, imperial envoys on their way to Sa-ma-rh-han passed through Bie-shi-ba-li, they were well treated by Ma-ha-ma, who in the next year despatched an embassy to the Chinese court, offering fine horses and a *wen pao* (leopard). When this embassy returned, they were accompanied by *An* (*v.* p. 144), who carried gold-embroidered silk stuffs for the king. At that time an envoy of the *Wa-la* (Oirats) complained that Ma-ha-ma was arming for making war on the Wa-la. The emperor sent to warn him. In 1413 Ma-ha-ma sent one of his generals with tribute to China. He reached Kan su. Orders had been given to the civil and military authorities to receive him honourably.

[1020] According to the Zafer nameh, Khizer Khodja died in 1399. See p. 231.

[1021] *Shama jehan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 231.

[1022] Samarkand with Maverannahr indeed originally belonged to the undivided Chagatai empire. See p. 226.

In the next year (1414) people returning from the *Si yü* brought the intelligence that Ma-ha-ma's brother and mother had both died in a short interval. The emperor sent again *An* to Bie-shi-ba-li with a letter of condolence. When Ma-ha-ma died he left no son. His nephew, *Na-hei-shi-dji-han*,[1024] succeeded him, and in the spring of 1416 despatched an envoy to inform the emperor of his uncle's death. The emperor sent the eunuch Li Ta to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and confer the title of *wang* (king) on his successor. In 1417 Na-hei-shi-dji-han sent an embassy to inform the emperor that he was about to marry a princess from *Sa-ma-rh-han*,[1025] and solicited in exchange for horses a bride's trousseau. Then 500 pieces of variegated and 500 of plain white silk stuff were bestowed on the king of Bie-shi-ba-li as wedding presents.

[1023] *Mohammed Khan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 233.

[1024] *Nakshi jehan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 233.

[1025] The Mohammedan authors do not record this marriage.

In 1418 an envoy, by name *Su-kʻo,* arrived from Bie-shi-ba-li, reporting that his sovereign (Na-hei-shi-dji-han) had been slain by his cousin, *Wai-sz',*[1026] who then had declared himself king. At the same time Wai-sz' with his people had transferred their abode to the west, changing the former name of the empire (Bie-shi-ba-li) into *I-li-ba-li.*[1027] The emperor said that it was not his custom to meddle with the internal affairs of foreign countries. He bestowed upon Su-kʻo the rank of *tu tu tsʻien shi,* and at the same time sent the eunuch *Yang Chung* with a mission to Wai-sz', conferring on the king as presents an arrow, a sword, a suit of armour, and silk stuffs. The chieftain *Hu-dai-da*[1028] and more than seventy other people of I-li-ba-li all received presents. Subsequently Wai-sz' sent frequently tribute to the Chinese court,[1029] as did also his mother, *So-lu-tʻan Ha tun* (Sultan Khatun).

In 1428 Wai-sz' died, and was succeeded by his son, *Ye-sien bu-hua,*[1030] who also sent repeatedly tribute to China. Tribute was also offered by *Bu-sai-in,* the son-in-law of the late king.

Ye-sien bu-hua died in 1445, and was succeeded by *Ye-mi-li hu-djo.*[1031] The latter sent camels as tribute, and also a block of rude jade weighing 3800 *kin,* but not of the best quality. The Chinese government returned for every two *kin* of jade one piece of white silk. In 1457 a Chinese envoy was sent to *I-li-ba-li* with presents for the king, and in 1456 again. It was then settled that I-li-ba-li was to send tribute every three or five years, and the number of the people in the suite of the envoy should not surpass ten men. Subsequently embassies from that country were seldom seen at the Chinese court.

[1026] This is doubtless the *Weis* or *Awis Khan* of the Mohammedan chroniclers. See p. 233.

[1027] This name refers probably to the *Ili* river. About the place *Ilibalik* in the Mongol period, compare p. 44.

[1028] This seems to be the Amir *Khodaidad* of Kashgar, a man of great influence in Moghulistan. See p. 245. The embassy of Shah Rok to China in 1420 met the Amir Khodaidad, who then enjoyed great authority in the country in Moghulistan.

[1029] The embassy of Shah Rok saw an envoy of Awis Khan, by name *Batu Timur Anka,* in Peking in 1421.

[1030] *Isan Buka* II. of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 234.

[1031] *Imil Khodja.* This Khan is not mentioned by the Mohammedan authors.

In the "Mém. conc. les Chinois," vol. xiv. 278, Father Amiot has translated a letter addressed to a Chinese emperor of the Ming by *She-le-ma mou-che*, a governor-general in I-li-ba-li, who had presented western horses.

The article on Bie-shi-ba-li (or I-li-ba-li) in the Ming history concludes with some notes regarding this country and the customs of its inhabitants. More detailed accounts of the same subject, drawn for the greater part from the *Shi Si yü ki* (*v.* p. 147), are found in the Ming Geography, which I proceed to translate here:—

The country of I-li-ba-li is surrounded by deserts. It extends 3000 *li* from east to west, 2000 from north to south. There are no cities or palace buildings. The people are nomads, living in felt tents, and changing their abode together with their herds in accordance with the existence of water and pasture-land. They are of a fierce-looking appearance. Their common food is flesh and kumis. They are dressed in the same fashion as the *Wa-la* (Oirats). *Ch'en Ch'eng* (the author of the Shi Si yü ki), however, reports that they are wont to dress themselves in the Mohammedan fashion, but that their language resembles that of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs). The king shaves his head and wears a *chao-la mao*,[1032] on which he sets up the tail-feather of the *ts'z' lao*.[1033] He sits on variegated embroidered carpets spread on the ground. When he gives an audience to foreign envoys, it is never required of them to bow their heads to the ground; they have only to kneel down.

[1032] The Chinese character *mao* means a cap. But here the three characters *chao-la-mao* seem to render the Turkish word *chalma*, meaning a turban.

[1033] The Pen ts'ao kang mu, chap. xlvii., gives the following description of the bird *ts'z' lao*:—This bird lives on the great lakes of southern countries (India). It resembles the *hao* (a general name for cranes and crane-like birds), but is of enormous size. With its wings displayed, it measures from five to six feet, and when elevating the head it is from six to seven feet high. The colour of its plumage is bluish-grey. It has a long neck. The

There is in this country the *Po Shan* (White mountain), which sends out continually smoke and fire. It contains much *nao sha* (sal ammoniac). In order to collect it, the people put on shoes with wooden soles, for leather soles would be burnt. There are caverns in this mountain, in which a kind of dark mud is produced. This flows out and then changes into sal ammoniac. The people use it in curing cutaneous diseases.[1034]

The *Tsʻung ling* or Onion mountains belong also to this

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crown of the head is destitute of plumage, and of a red colour. The beak is dark yellowish, more than a foot long, straight, and flattened. Beneath the crop it has a dewlap like that of the *tʻi hu* (pelican). The feet are black, and the claws resemble those of fowls. This bird is very voracious and quarrelsome, and attacks even men. It feeds on fish, snakes, and young birds.

This is quite a correct description of the great Indian stork, *Ciconia Marabu*, the tail-feathers of which are highly prized in Asia as well as in Europe. The Mongol annals, Yüan chʻao pi shi (*vide* i. 192), mention this bird under the name of *tokuraun*. At least the Chinese translation renders this name by *tsʻz' lao*. In modern Mongol, *togoriu* means crane. According to Sultan Baber ("Mémoires," i. 314), the feathers used as ornaments in the turbans are yielded by herons, which the people of Kabul are wont to catch. These feathers are largely exported to Irak and Khorassan.

[1034] A similar account of the White mountain is already found in the History of the Northern Wei (fifth century), in the article on the kingdom of *Kui-tsz'* (Kucha, see note 1015). It is stated there that Kui-tsz' is situated 170 *li* south of the *Po shan*. A thick badly-smelling fluid flows out from this mountain, forming a rivulet, which, after the short course of several *li*, disappears in the ground. This fluid is used in curing the falling off of the hair and the teeth, and is also given in dysentery.

The *Sui Si yü tʻu ki*, an account of Western countries during the Sui dynasty (sixth century), quoted in the Wen hien tʻung kʻao, states about the same *Po shan*, that it is situated 200 *li* north of Kui-tsz', and that fire and smoke constantly rise from it. It produces *nao sha*, or sal ammoniac. The mountain is also known by the name of *A-ghie*. This latter, according to Klaproth ("Volcans du Thien shan, Tabl. hist. As.," 109, 110) means (in Turkish) Fire mountain. Compare also Ritter, ii. 333.

The Po shan (or Be shan, as the name is written on the Russian maps) bears still the same Chinese name. It lies, according to the maps, about sixty English miles north of Kucha. Since Humboldt and Ritter, the Po shan has always been considered as an active volcano of the Tʻien shan country. They owe their name to the abundance of (wild) onions there. They are very high. The natives call them *Tʻa-shi da-ban.*[1035]

It is very cold in that country. In the mountains and deep valleys a fall of snow is not rare even in the sixth month (July).

There is a sea (lake) called *Je hai* (hot sea), which is several hundred *li* in circuit. In the language of the country it is called *I-si-kʻo-rh.*[1036]

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chain. But no European had visited it till 1881, when, at the instance of Professor Mushketoff, the geological explorer of Central Asia, a Russian expedition, headed by Kisseleff, was sent to decide the question by direct observation. A short account of the results of this expedition was published in the "Turkestan Gazette," 6th October 1881. The *Be shan* or *Be fan shan* (Alum mountain) of the Chinese, the *Zemshtag* (same meaning) of the natives, was found sixteen versts north-east of Kucha, in a basin surrounded by the massive *Ailak* mountains; its fires are not volcanic, but proceed from burning coal. On the sides of the mountain there are caves emitting smoke and sulphurous gas. The burning is accompanied with great noise. Mushketoff, in his "Turkestan," 1886, i. 172, states that sulphur, sal ammoniac, and alum had been collected on the mountain. He considers the question of the existence of volcanoes in Central Asia as decided in the negative (ibid. p. 131–133).

[1035] The name *Tsʻung ling* occurs first in the Chinese annals in the second century B.C., when the Chinese became acquainted with the countries of Central and Western Asia. They apply it to the high mountains which border the Tarim basin to the west, and which connect the Tʻien shan with the Kun lun range. On the way from Kashgar to the Pamir, followed by Forsyth, there is, south-west of *Tash kurgan*, a pass called *Nisa Tash devan*, which latter name resembles the Tash daban in the Chinese account.

[1036] This name is evidently intended for *Issikul*. This great lake in Western Turkestan is called *Issikul* (hot lake) by the Kirghizes, *Temurtu nor* (ferruginous lake) by the Mongols and Kalmuks. It is also known by the name *Tuzkul* (salt lake). It is mentioned in the Chinese annals as early as the seventh century. See Tʻang shu, chap. 258.*b*, article *Shi* (Tashkend), where it is placed near the *Sui-ye* or Chu river, and named *Je hai* (hot sea). The Chinese chronicler adds that the lake does not freeze in winter. The Buddhist monk Hüan tsang, who visited the lake in about A.D. 630, calls it *Tsʻing hai* (limpid sea). See Beal's "Si yu ki," i. 25.

The name of this lake occurs only once, it seems, in the Mohammedan chroniclers of the Mongol period. See d'Ohsson, iv. 565. Oeuldjaïtu, Khan of Persia, who was at war with Isan Buka, Khan of the Middle Empire, is stated to have sent his troops into Turkestan, and they advanced as far as *Talas* and *Issenkeul*. The name *Issigheul* frequently occurs in Sherif-eddin's narrative of Timur's expeditions into Moghulistan (see note 1013),

HA-SHI-HA-RH (KASHGAR).

This is a little realm in the *Si yü*. In the year 1408 *Pa T'ai* and *Li Ta* (two Chinese envoys sent to Bie-shi-ba-li, *v.* p. 239) visited also Ha-shi-ha-rh. They brought an imperial letter and presents (for the ruler). In 1413, when *Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai* returned home (this envoy had been in Samarkand, Herat, Shiraz), he visited also Ha-shi-ha-rh, and (the ruler of it) then sent an envoy with tribute to the court. In the reign of Süan te (1426–36), Ha-shi-ha-rh offered also tribute. In 1463 a Chinese envoy was sent thither, but no embassy came in return from that country.[1037]

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but it would rather seem that was the name of a place. A curious statement is found in Arab Shah, who reports (ii. 393) that Timur banished one part of the Tatars (Kara Tatars of the Zafer nameh, whom he transferred in 1403 from Asia Minor to Turkestan) to the fortress *Dowaira*, which was situated in the middle of the lake called *Issicoul*. This lake, he says, was at the boundary between the dominions of Timur and Moghulistan.

Kostenko in his "Turkestan," i. 177, gives an interesting account of Lake Issikul, from which I may quote the following statements :—The lake is very deep ; no islands are now found on it, but it has many shoals. No traces of ancient settlements on its shores can be discovered, although there is a tradition among the Kirghizes that there was in ancient times a city which was submerged by the sudden appearance of the lake. But this supposition has no foundation. The water of the lake is brackish. Owing to the numerous hot springs in the lake, the temperature of its water is elevated, and it never freezes, notwithstanding the severe winters in these regions. The bottom of the lake contains a good deal of iron ore, which is thrown out by the waves, and which the Kirghizes manufacture into iron.

[1037] The history of Kashgar in the period here spoken of is given in the Tarikhi Rashidi. See Erskine's translation, *l. c.;* Yule's "Cathay," 545; Bellew's "History of Kashgar." Compare also Quatremère's article "Le Royaume de Kachgar," translated from the Heft iklim in "Not. et Extr.," XIV. i. 474.

Kashgar in the Mongol period belonged to the Middle or Chagatai empire, but it had always been conferred on a chief officer of the Khan's court. Thus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was in the possession of the *Doghlat* family. Amir *Yuladji Doghlat* was hereditary ruler of Kashgar under Tughlak Timur, Khan of Moghulistan, whom he had raised to the throne in 1347. Amir *Khodaidad Doghlat* succeeded his father in the government of Kashgar, probably soon after 1347. He was then only seven years old, and his uncle, *Kamar-eddin*, usurped the office at Kashgar as belonging of right to him, and at length also the throne of Moghulistan

YU-T'IEN (KHOTAN).[1038]

Yü-tʻien is an ancient name by which this country was known in China since the time of the *Han* dynasty, and down to the *Sung* dynasty it has always had intercourse with the Middle Kingdom.

In 1406 an envoy from this country arrived at the Chinese court to offer tribute, and when he returned home the chi hui *Shen-chung Mu-sa* accompanied him, carrying presents and an imperial letter for the chief of Yü-tʻien, whose name was *Da-lu-wa I-bu-la-ghin*, who in return

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(see note 1013). After the destruction of Kamar-eddin's power by Timur in 1389, Khodaidad, relieved of his rival, resumed the government of Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu, Bai, and Kucha, and put Khizer Khodja on the throne of Moghulistan. But he retained the real power of the government of Moghulistan till Amir Khodaidad died in 1446. He was a man of great influence, and boasted that in his long reign he had made six Grand Khans of Moghulistan. We have already seen that he is mentioned in the Chinese annals, *s. a.* 1418. The embassy of Shah Rok to China, when they had entered Moghulistan in 1420, were met by the venerable Amir Khodaidad, who, according to the diarist, was then enjoying great authority in the country.

Khodaidad was succeeded by his grandson, *Amir Syed Ali*, who died in 1457, and was succeeded by his sons *Mohammed Haider Mirza* in Kashgar, and *Saniz Mirza* in Yarkend. Haider Mirza was expelled from Kashgar by his brother Saniz, but after the death of the latter in 1464, again took possession of Kashgar. In 1480 he was expelled by his nephew and stepson *Abu Bekr*, son of Saniz. Abu Bekr was defeated and expelled in 1514 by *Sultan Said Khan*, the third son of Sultan Ahmed Khan of Moghulistan, who founded a new dynasty in Kashgar, which maintained itself there for more than a century and a half.

[1038] The history of Khotan is very obscure, and it seems to me that almost all we know about it is from Chinese sources. Abel Rémusat in his "Histoire de la Ville de Khotan," 1820, has brought together all he has been able to gather with respect to the history of this country from the Chinese annals since the second century B.C. down to the present dynasty. See also my note on Khotan, p. 47. We know from the Tarikhi Rashidi that, in the days of the Ming, Khotan belonged to Moghulistan, or rather to Kashgar, the Amirs of which province, as we have seen, governed it in their own right, and acknowledged only nominally the supremacy of the Khan of Moghulistan. The Amirs had probably their governors at Khotan. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Timur's troop overran several times Kashgaria, and in the famous expedition of Timur's grandson, Mirza Eskender, in 1399, into Moghulistan, this young prince reached also Khotan. In relating this campaign, the author of the despatched an envoy, by name *Ma-la-ha-sa-mu-ding,* with a piece of rude jade for the emperor. The chi hui *Shang heng* accompanied the Khotan envoy on his way home.

In 1420 an embassy from Yü-tʿien arrived at the same time when embassies from *Ha-lie* (Herat)[1039] and *Ba-da-hei-shan* reached the Chinese court. It was accompanied home by *Chʿen Chʿeng* and *Kuo King.* In 1422 another embassy from Yü-tʿien presented fine jade, and in 1424 again an embassy from that country arrived, presenting horses. It was well received by the emperor Jen tsung, who had then just mounted the throne.

Jen tsung's predecessor, the emperor Yung lo (1403–24), had always been desirous that all countries, even the most distant, should acknowledge his supremacy, and during his reign envoys from the countries of the West used to arrive every year. Those foreigners are very fond of Chinese productions, especially silk, and derive benefit from exchanging them with the goods they bring from their countries. Thus the foreign merchants were in the habit of coming to China under the false pretext of carrying tribute. They brought with them camels, horses, jade, and other things. When they had entered China, the government provided them with boats and carts to travel by rivers or by land, took care of their subsistence, and made the necessary preparations at the stations for their maintenance and despatch. The soldiers as well as the

Zafer nameh gives also a short account of this province (see p. 232). In about 1479 Abu Bekr, nephew of Mohammed Haider Mirza of Kashgar, took possession of Khotan, and finally expelled his uncle also from Kashgar.

On modern Chinese maps, and in Chinese geographical works published in the last century, Khotan appears under the names of *Ho-tien* and *I-li-tsʿi. Ilchi* or *Elchi* is, indeed, as we know from the reports of modern European travellers, the real name of the capital of Khotan.

During the last twenty-two years Khotan has repeatedly been visited by English travellers (Johnson, 1865; Sir Douglas Forsyth, 1870, and 1873–74, and others) from India. Last year General Przewalsky explored the regions of the Tarim basin.

[1039] Here the embassy of Shah Rok to the Chinese emperor, known to us from Mohammedan sources, is alluded to.

people were fatigued in carrying the tribute (of the foreigners). Besides this, when these embassies returned home, there were always a great number of their people who remained behind with their goods over a tract of several thousands of *li*, and thus became a burden to the government. Many troubles arose from this state of things, and great expenses for the government as well as for the emperor's subjects. The officers and the people began to murmur. The council of ministers were of opinion that in the future the emperor ought to abandon this solicitude with respect to the foreigners. When the prejudice the government was incurring by these abuses had been pointed out to the emperor, he became very indignant, and ordered the officers who had permitted these inconveniences to be reprimanded. It was then decreed that in future no envoys should be sent to the countries in the West. Owing to these measures foreign embassies did not arrive so frequently.[1040]

From early times Yü-tʻien has always been a great kingdom. During the Sui and Tʻang periods (sixth to tenth century) it subdued the kingdoms of *Jung-lu*, *Han-mi*, *Kʻü-le*, and *Pʻi-shan*,[1041] and thus its power increased.

[1040] This sincere confession of the Ming chroniclers, and the report laid before the emperor, permit us to view in its proper light these so-called embassies from foreign countries so frequently recorded in the Chinese annals, and especially in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Emperor Yung lo, being anxious to see his glory spread over the "ten thousand kingdoms of the world," had sent emissaries to almost all countries of Asia, inviting them to send embassies to his court. Of course, as these embassies were well received in China, they arrived frequently, all the more as they generally pursued purely commercial objects. Not only did they receive in return for the goods they had brought as tribute presents of often much higher value, but they were allowed also to carry on trade in China, and thus realised great benefits. There can be no doubt that many of these embassies recorded in the Ming shi were simply mercantile caravans, not always despatched by the rulers of the respective countries. This can be concluded also from some of the supplications translated by Amiot (see p. 149). The author of the Khitai nameh states that all the Mohammedans who go to China, in order to be admitted present themselves as envoys.

[1041] All these kingdoms are spoken of for the first time in the Ts'ien Han shu, chap. xcvi., before our era.

Towards the end of the Yüan dynasty Yü-tʽien began to lose its splendour. It was attacked by the adjacent countries. The people fled to hide in the mountains (comp. p. 233). But after emperor Yung lo had re-established order, the countries of the *Si yü* began again to send tribute, Yü-tʽien recovered its former wealth, and the merchants passed again through this country.

Yü-tʽien borders to the east upon the military district of *Kʽü-sien* (see p. 210), to the north upon *I-li-ba-li* (Moghulistan). It is distant from *Su chou*, on the north-east, 6300 *li*.[1042] According to ancient accounts (History of the Northern Wei, fifth century), Yü-tʽien lies 200 *li* north of the *Tsʽung ling* mountains. The Ming Geography notices more correctly that these mountains (see note 1035) lie to the south-east of Yü-tʽien.

East of the city of Yü-tʽien is the *Po yü ho* (river of white jade), west of it the *Lü yü ho* (river of green jade). There is a third river, the *Hei yü ho* (river of black jade), also west of the city. The sources of these three rivers are in the *Kʽun-lun* mountains.[1043] The people who gather jade discover the fine pieces at moonlight in the river, and then dive to take them out.[1044] The people of the adjacent countries are in the habit of stealing the jade of these three rivers, and then presenting it as tribute.

[1042] This figure is evidently too high. The distance between Khotan and Su chou, as the crow flies, is about 3000 *li* only. I may, however, observe that the caravans from Khotan to China did not go by the direct way, but preferred the much longer way by Kashgar, Aksu, Turfan, Hami (see above, p. 232).

[1043] Regarding the *Kʽun-lun* of the Chinese (see note 980). The western part of it on our maps bears the name of *Karakorum* mountains, south and south-east of Khotan. The Zafer nameh terms these mountains *Karangutak* (see p. 233). I may observe that on modern maps of these regions I find a place of this name marked more than fifty English miles south of the city of Khotan, on the river Yurung kash or Karang kash, which flows to Khotan. It is also the name of a mountain district there.

[1044] The Zafer nameh mentions two rivers near Khotan which yield jade, viz., the *Orak Kash* and the *Kara Kash* (*v. supra*, p. 233). Captain Trotter, who accompanied Forsyth, in his "Account of the Mission to Yarkand and Kashgar," 1873-74, p. 154, notices both rivers under the names of *Yurung Kash* (white jade), and *Kara Kash* (black jade), and

Yü-tʻien produces, besides jade, mulberry trees, hemp, wheat, rice like that of China, grapes, asafœtida, fine horses, &c.

This country has always regularly sent tribute to the Chinese court down to the reign of Wan li (1573–1620), and even in this reign embassies from Yü-tʻien arrived.

SAI-LAN (SAIRAM).

Sai-lan lies east of *Ta-shi-gan* (Tashkend). It is distant from *Sa-ma-rh-han* in the west more than 1000 *li*.[1045] The city is two or three *li* in circuit, and is situated in the middle of a vast well-populated and fertile plain, where the five kinds of corn, and many fruits and trees are cultivated. In summer time and in autumn there is found in the grass a little black spider, the sting of which is poisonous.[1046] The

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states that these names are also applied to two districts of Khotan. Jade is obtained near the bed of the Yurung Kash. There are two principal mines, one at a distance of fifteen miles, the other at twenty-five miles from Ilchi. Jade is also procured from the bed of the river.

The above Chinese denominations of the three jade rivers of Khotan occur first in the Chinese annals in the tenth century (History of the Sung).

[1045] With respect to Sairam in the days of the Mongols, I beg to refer to Part III. p. 94. A town of this name still exists in Russian Turkestan, about six and a half English miles east of Chimkend. Sairam is situated north-east, not east, as the Chinese account says, of Tashkend and Samarkand. Sairam as well as Tashkend both lie on the great highway from China to Samarkand. See vol. i., "Chinese Mediæval Travellers," pp. 74, 130. The embassy of Shah Rok to the Chinese emperor went by Samarkand, Tashkend, Sairam. It seems that the Chinese travellers of the Ming period, to whom we are indebted for this information on western countries, believed that their way lay straight from east to west. Sairam is frequently mentioned by the Mohammedan historians of the fifteenth century in connection with the warlike expeditions of Timur and his successors against Moghulistan and Kipchak. See Zafer nameh, i. 21, ii. 8, 14, 20, 62, vi. 26. *Chemkend* is noticed there as a village near Sairam (i. 21). Abder-razzak, *s. a.* 1410: the fortress of Sairam besieged by the Moghuls. According to Arab Shah (ii. p. 147), *Siram* (Sairam) was situated beyond the river of Khodjend (Syr Daria), about eleven days' journey from Samarkand and four from *Janci Belas* (correct reading *Yanghi Talas*, see note 1050).

[1046] The spider here spoken of is the *Latrodectus lugubris*, dreaded by the natives of Turkestan. The Kirghizes call it *kara kurt*. See also note 321.

sting causes insupportable pain. The people cure the poisonous effect by rubbing the poisoned part with the *po ho* plant.[1047] Sometimes they use also sheep's liver in the same way, and recite prayers during a whole day and night. Then the pain ceases whilst the skin sloughs. Domestic animals frequently die of the sting of this insect. To avoid it, it is advisable to select always a halting-place near the water.

When Tai tsu of the Yüan dynasty (Chinghiz Khan) invaded the countries of the west, one of his generals, by name of *Sie-t'a-la-hai,* attacked Sai-lan, and employed catapults to take it.[1048]

TA-SHI-GAN (TASHKEND).

Ta-shi-gan lies 700 *li* east (should be north-east) of Sa-ma-rh-han. The city is situated in a plain, and is two *li* in circumference. Around it the country is rich in gardens and fruits. The population is numerous. *Li Ta, Ch'en Ch'eng,* and *Li Kui* (Chinese envoys, see pp. 147, 148), visited this country.[1049]

YANG-I (YANGHIKAND).

The city of *Yang-i* is situated among hills (mountains) scattered about at a distance of 360 *li* east of *Sai-lan*

[1047] This name is applied in China to several species of *Mentha,* Chinese peppermint.

[1048] See p. 95.

[1049] That is all the Ming shi says about Tashkend, which, in the days of the Ming, was already the capital of Turkestan. It originally belonged to Moghulistan since the partition of the Chagatai or Middle Empire (see p. 226), but during the latter part of Timur's reign it formed a part of his vast empire, and after the death of the conqueror, continued, it seems, to be subject to his successors in Samarkand. Towards the end of the fifteenth century Tashkend and Sairam were given up to Yunus Khan of Moghulistan, and after the death of this prince in 1496, his eldest son, Mahmud, reigned over the province of Tashkend and Sairam. In 1503 Sheibani, the Uzbeg chief, took possession of these tracts. See p. 236. Tashkend is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh, and Sherif-eddin notices that it was formerly called *al Shash.* See also p. 55.

(Sairam). North-east of it is a considerable rivulet, which flows westward and empties itself into a great river. In the space of a hundred *li* the traveller meets many ruined cities, for this land is situated just at the boundary between *Bie-shi-ba-li* and the dominions of the *Meng-gu* (Mongols), and therefore has been frequently devastated, and its population has been dispersed. Now-a-days, several hundreds of soldiers are the only inhabitants of Yang-i, and the ruins of the ancient walls are covered with bushes and reeds.

In the reign of Yung lo (1403–24), *Chʻen Chʻeng* (a Chinese envoy, see p. 147) visited this country.[1050]

[1050] There are some irreconcilable contradictions in the above statements. The boundary between Bishbalik (Moghulistan) and the territories of the Mongols cannot be 360 *li* east of Sairam. Probably we have to read Samarkand instead of Mongols. Farther on the same Ming shi states, in the article on Samarkand, that this latter country borders upon Yang-i. The name *Yang-i* seems to be intended for *Yanghi kand* (meaning new city). But there were in the Middle Ages several cities in Turkestan which bore this name. One of them is spoken of by Rashid-eddin as a city on the Lower Sihun, taken by Chinghiz Khan in 1220. The ruins of it can still be seen near the mouth of the Syr Daria (see note 676). But the Yang-i of the Ming shi refers to another city situated on the Talas river, as can be proved from the statements of the Mohammedan authors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Tarikhi Rashidi (Howorth's "Mongols," ii. 286, resp. Veliaminoff Zernof) reports that the city of *Taras* (or Talas) was called *Yanghi* by the Mongols, and that there were many people of Yanghi in Maverannahr who were called Yanghelik. In the steppe of Yanghi, says its author, are found the remains of several cities, and of domes, minarets, and schools, but he adds, it is not known which of these ancient cities was Yanghi, or what were the names of the others. It seems that the Masalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century) gives an answer to this question, for we read in this book (Quatremère's transl. 224) that it was twenty days' journey from Samarkand to *Yanghi*, and that this latter consisted of four towns, separated from each other by a distance of a fersenkh each. They all had distinct names, and were known as *Yanghi*, *Yanghi baligh*, *Kendjek*, and *Talas*. From Yanghi to Almalik was twenty days' journey. According to Arab Shah (Manger's transl. ii. p. 147), the city of *Janci Belas* (correct reading according to Quatremère and Fraehn in other manuscripts: *Yanghi Talas*) was situated in the country beyond the *Khodjend* river (Sihun), and distant from Samarkand fifteen days' journey, and from Sairam about four days. We read in the Zafer nameh, vi. 26, *s. a.* 1404, Timur gave the Mirza Olug beg the government of the cities of *Tashkend*, *Seiram*, *Yenghi*, *Ashira* (correct reading *Aspa-*

SHA-LU-HAI-YA (SHAHROKIA).

Sha-lu-hai-ya[1051] is situated 500 *li* and more east (should be north-east) of Sa-ma-rh-han. The city has been built

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rah), and all the kingdom of Jete as far as China; and to Mirza Ibrahim Sultan that of *Andekan*, *Aksiket*, *Taraz*, and Kashgar as far as *Khotan*. Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs," on the first page, notices that there was in former times north of Ferghana the flourishing city of *Yanghi*, in books called *Tarazkend*. But the Uzbeks had destroyed it. About ancient Taras or Talas see note 23.

[1051] Arab Shah (i. 217) relates the following story in connection with the foundation of *Shahrokia* by Timur :—The latter had given orders to build a city (fortress) on the Sihun for the purpose of keeping in check the Jetes of Moghulistan. One day when Timur was playing at chess, and was just about to checkmate his opponent, the news was brought to him that the construction of the fortress had been finished, and at the same time another messenger arrived who informed him of the birth of a son. Timur then decided to give to the new-born prince the name of *Shah Rok*, and ordered the fortress to be named *Shahrokia*. (Shah in Persian means "the king," and rok the "rook or castle" at chess.) Arab Shah adds that Shahrokia was built on the opposite (*i.e.*, right) bank of the Sihun, and that a floating bridge was spread there over the river. According to the Zafer nameh (ii. 24), Mirza Shah Rok, Timur's fourth son, was born in 1377. But Sherif-eddin refers the foundation of Shahrokia to a later time. We read in the Zafer nameh (vi. 27) on the subject: The city of *Fenakend* had been so ruined by Chinghiz Khan's army (compare i. 278), that there remained no traces of any edifices till 1392, when Timur ordered it to be rebuilt and repeopled, and as he then gave it to Mirza Shah Rok, it was called *Shahrokia*. When the conqueror, in 1404, made preparations for his great expedition to China, he ordered the right wing of his army to pass the winter with the troops at *Tashkend*, *Sairam*, and *Shahrokia*. (Comp. also ibid. vi. 39.) In the history of the successors of Timur (by Abder Razzak, Mirkhond, &c.), Shahrokia is repeatedly mentioned. In 1416 Shah Rok's son, Ulug beg, on his way from Turkestan to Samarkand, crossed the Sihun at Shahrokia. In 1449 the same prince, pursued by his rebellious son Abdullatif, fled to Shahrokia. In 1461 Mirza Mohammed Juki, the son of Abdullatif, revolted against Sultan Abu Said, who was then ruling over Maverannahr and Khorassan (Herat), and at the Sultan's approach shut himself up in the fortress of Shahrokia on the Sihun, protected, as the chronicler reports, on three sides by the stream of the river, and on the fourth by a deep ditch. This place was then rendered unassailable by the Mirza. It was only in 1463 that the fortress surrendered after a siege of nearly twelve months by the Sultan's troops. Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs" (i. 2) states :—The river Sihun, known also under the name of *river of Khodjend*, takes its rise in the north-east, and then flowing in a western direction, runs through Ferghanah. It passes north of Khodjend and south of *Finaket*, which is now called *Shahrokia*, then turns to the on a little hill on the river *Huo-djan,*[1052] which borders it to the north-west. This river runs rapidly. A floating bridge stretches over it. But the people cross the river also on small boats.

(According to the Ming Geography, there is east of the city of *Sha-lu-hai-ya* another river called *Ha-bu-lien.*)

Not far to the south of Sha-lu-hai-ya are mountains, the valleys of which are well populated. There are rich gardens. To the west there is a great sandy desert, which extends for nearly 200 *li.* It is destitute of water, with the exception of some undrinkable brackish water found in some places. When cattle or horses drink it they die.[1053] A stinking plant, yielding the medicine *a-wei*, grows in this country.[1054] There is also a little bushy plant (shrub) from one to two feet high, which exudes a kind of dew which, when hardened in autumn, is eaten by the people

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north towards Turkestan, where it finally loses itself in the moving sand, without reaching another river or a sea.

An interesting notice regarding the site of ancient Shahrokia is found in the "Turkestan Gazette," December 16, 1886. According to the Tarikh nameh, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, Timur, after the foundation of Shahrokia, ordered a canal to be dug in order to conduct the water of the Sihun westward for the irrigation of the *Djazir*, or the desert which extends between the Jihun and the mountains of Djizak. The dry bed of this canal, known under the name of *Urumbai aryk*, can still be traced in this desert, which the Russians term "golodnaya step," or hunger desert, and which the traveller proceeding from Tashkend to Samarkand has to cross between Chinaz and Djizak. By order of the Russian Government an attempt has even been made to re-establish the ancient water-course in the Urumbai aryk, and also in another artificial channel, the *Bokhara aryk* or *Shaar aryk*, in the same desert. The author of this note in the "Turkestan Gazette" is disposed to identify the ruins called *Sharkia*, situated on the Sihun opposite the head of the Urumbai aryk, with ancient Shahrokia. Unhappily the aryks and places mentioned in this article are not found on the detailed Russian map of Turkestan, but it seems that the head of the Urumbai must be looked for south of Chinaz.

[1052] The river of *Khodjend* or Sihun. See preceding note.

[1053] This is the hunger desert noticed in note 1051.

[1054] *A-wie* is the Chinese name for *Asa fœtida.* See note 974. Schuyler ("Turkestan," i. 228) states that the Asa fœtida plant grows in great profusion on the road from Chinaz to Djizak.

like honey. By boiling, sugar can be obtained from it. The natives call it *ta-lang-gu-bin.*[1055]

In the reign of Yung lo (1403–25), *Li Ta* and *Ch'en Ch'eng* (see p. 147) were sent to this country, whereupon the chief of it despatched an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1432 the Chinese emperor sent the eunuch *Li Kui* (see p. 148) thither, with a letter and presents for the chief.

AN-DI-GAN (ANDEKAN).

An-di-gan is a little realm in the *Si yü* (Western countries). After *T'ai tsu* of the *Yüan* (Chinghiz Khan) conquered the Si yü, he divided it, and gave the principalities as appanages to the princes of his house. The smaller ones were governed by officers, like the appanages of these princes in China (*v. supra,* p. 11). After the fall of the Yüan dynasty, these principalities became independent. Emperor Yung lo repeatedly despatched envoys to these countries, and some of them accordingly sent tribute to the Chinese court. The larger ones called themselves kingdoms, the smaller ones places. During the reign of Yung lo, from seventy to eighty different tribes or places of the *Si yü* had sent envoys with tribute, to bow respectfully before the emperor's door. *An-di-gan* was one of these little realms. In 1413 it sent tribute, together with *Ha-lie* (Herat). When, in 1416, the emperor despatched *Lu An* and others to *Ha-lie, Shi-la-sz',* and other countries to open a route for commerce, this envoy passed also through *An-di-gan* and bestowed presents on the chief. But as this country was small, it was not able to send tribute again.[1056]

[1055] This is the *Alhagi manna.* (See note 973.) The Ming Geography, (article Samarkand) calls it *kan lu,* or "sweet dew."

[1056] *Andekan* is the name of a city in Ferghana. On modern maps the name is generally written *Andedjan,* but the Zafer nameh writes it Andekan, and applies it generally to the whole of Ferghana, of which Andegan was the capital in the days of Timur and his successors. Compare Sultan

SA-MA-RH-HAN (SAMARKAND).

Sa-ma-rh-han is the same country as that called *Ki-pin* at the time of the Han. At the time of the Sui (sixth century), it was called the kingdom of *Ts‘ao.* The T‘ang adopted again the name *Ki-pin.*[1057] This country has always had intercourse with China. *T‘ai tsu* of the *Yüan* (Chinghiz Khan) conquered it, and it was then ruled by a Mongol prince, and the name was changed into the Mongol name *Sa-ma-rh-han.*[1058] Sa-ma-rh-han is 9600 *li* distant from *Kia-yü kuan.*

At the close of the Yüan dynasty this country was ruled by the king *fu ma T‘ie-mu-rh.*[1059]

Baber's description of Ferghana at the beginning of his "Memoirs." He writes Andedjan. In 1376 Timur made his son Omar Sheikh governor of Andekan (Zafer nameh, ii. 16), and when this prince, in 1393, had been appointed governor of Fars, Timur, in 1393, gave the government of Andekan to Mirza Eskender, third son of Omar Sheikh (ibid. v. 2). In 1404 Timur entrusted the Mirza Ibrahim Sultan, second son of Shah Rok, with the government of Andekan (ibid. vi. 26). In 1409 Shah Rok gave the government of Ferghana to Mirza Emirek Ahmed, a younger brother of Eskender. He was expelled in 1414 by Mirza Ulug beg of Samarkand, and it seems that henceforth Ferghana depended on Samarkand. When Sultan Abu Said, great grandson of Timur, reigned in Samarkand, 1451–69, his son Omar Sheikh held the government of Andekan. Omar Sheikh died in 1494, and left Ferghana to his son Sultan Baber, who subsequently founded the Mongol empire in India.

[1057] These identifications of the Ming shi are altogether arbitrary and wrong. In the days of the Han, Samarkand was known to the Chinese under the name of *K‘ang-kü;* the T‘ang historians called it *K‘ang* or *Sa-mo-kien.* See above, p. 59. As to the country *Ki-pin,* it has been generally identified with Kabul.

[1058] This again is nonsense. About the origin of the name of Samarkand, see p. 60.

[1059] *Fu ma* is a Chinese term meaning "son-in-law of the Chinese emperor." But the Chinese chronicler does not mean to say that the great Timur had married a daughter of the emperor of China. Fu ma here is a translation of the Mongol title *gurkan* or *kurgan,* which was bestowed only upon the princes allied by marriage with the house of Chinghiz Khan. In modern Mongol *khurghen* means a son-in-law. Klaproth informs us ("Nouv. Journ. Asiat.," 1828, p. 295) that on all medals preserved from the time of Timur he is titled *Amir Timur kurkan.** Timur's favourite wife,

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* It is strange to say, Vambery takes the title *kurgan* to be the family name of Timur ("Travels in Central Asia," p. 208).

Hung wu (the first Ming emperor) was desirous of establishing a regular intercourse with the countries in the west, and sent repeatedly envoys with the imperial manifestos to invite the rulers of these distant countries to send em-

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Serai Mulk Khanum, whom he married in 1369, and who subsequently became the mother of Shah Rok, was the daughter of Kazan Sultan Khan of Turkestan and Maverannahr, who was a descendant of Chinghiz (Zafer nameh, i. 26). Compare also Arab Shah, i. p. 27: "Postquam vero Transoxianæ imperium sibi vindicasset, Timur, æqualibus suis superior in matrimonium accepit Regum Filias, ideoque addiderunt ei cognomen *kurkan*, quod in idiomate Moghulensi valet 'gener.'" But Arab Shah is mistaken in asserting farther on (ii. p. 859), that Timur's first and second wives were daughters of the emperor of China. I have not been able to find either in the Yüan shi or the Ming shi, where lists of the imperial princesses under each reign and their respective husbands are given, any corroboration of this suggestion. The Zafer nameh also, which notices nine wives of Timur, knows nothing about a Chinese princess among them. But besides Serai Mulk Khanum, Timur married in 1397 another Mongol princess, of the race of Chinghiz, called Tukel Khanum. She was the daughter of Khizer Khodja, Khan of Moghulistan (Zafer nameh, iii. 69, 70). Khanikoff is therefore mistaken in stating in his "Description of the Khanate of Bokhara," 1843, p. 103, that the *Medresseh Khanym* in Samarkand was built by a daughter of the emperor of China, Timur's wife. He states further that she had brought along with her for this purpose Chinese workmen. I am not aware from what sources the assertions of these authors are derived.

The Great Timur, as he reports himself in his Autobiography, was born in 1336, March 19, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Kesh* (in the village of *Ilgar*, according to Arab Shah, i. p. 15). He belonged to the Mongol tribe of *Berulass* or *Berlas* (*v. supra*, p. 40), the progenitor of which, Kajuli, was the brother of Kabul Khan, the great-grandfather of Chinghiz. Timur's fifth ancestor, Karachar noyen, had been generalissimo and prime minister of Chagatai, the second son of Chinghiz. He first embraced the Mohammedan faith. Kesh, the property of Karachar, then became the residence of his tribe, Berlas. The name of Timur's father was Taragai. As Timur was lame—he had been wounded in the hand and foot in Seistan in 1363, he was called also *Timur lenk* (*lenk* = lame in Persian). See Zafer nameh, i. 8; Arab Shah, i. p. 15, ii. p. 781. This is the origin of the name *Tamerlane*, by which the conqueror was first known in Europe. In that period the Mongol Khans elected to reign over Maverannahr were mere titular khans, depending entirely on the great amirs, who set them up and murdered them as they liked. After a long struggle between Timur and his brother-in-law, Hussein, for the supreme power, which finished with the defeat and execution of Hussein in 1369, Timur ascended the throne of Maverannahr, and set up his residence at Samarkand in 1370. However, it is a fact worthy of notice that Timur never assumed the title of Khan. Even in the height of his conquests he called himself only Amir, bassies. In 1387, in the fourth month, a Mohammedan, by name of *Man-la Ha-fei-sz'*, arrived at the Chinese capital as envoy from *T'ie-mu-rh.* He offered as tribute fifteen horses and two camels, and was well treated and rewarded. Sa-ma-rh-han then sent horses and camels as tribute every year, and in 1392 that country offered as tribute six pieces of velvet, nine pieces of blue *so-fu*[1060] and green *sa-ha-la,*[1061] two pieces of each, knives and swords made of *pin t'ie,*[1062] armour, &c. At the same time Mohammedans from Sa-ma-rh-han had brought horses for sale to *Liang chou* (in Kan su). The emperor ordered these horses to be driven to the capital. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty the Mohammedans had spread over the whole of China, and especially in the province of Kan su they had settled in great number. Now an order was given to the governor of that province to send them back to their country, and accordingly, more than 1200 Mohammedans set out for Sa-ma-rh-han.

In 1394, in the eighth month, an embassy despatched by *T'ie-mu-rh* arrived. The envoy offered to the emperor 200 horses, and transmitted a letter of his sovereign of the following tenor:—

"I respectfully address to your Majesty, great Ming

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and maintained titular successors to the throne of Chagatai in Maverannahr, and their names were put at the head of the state papers. The last of these, Sultan Mohammed Khan, died during Timur's campaign in Anatolia in 1402 (Zafer nameh, v. 54).

[1060] *So-fu* (not a Chinese name) is, according to the Ming Geography, a stuff resembling silk, which is manufactured in Herat of downs of birds. But in the Yüan shi, chap. lxxviii., official dress, *su-fu* (evidently the same), is mentioned as a fine woollen cloth manufactured in the country of the Mohammedans. According to Mr. Schefer, transl. of the Khitay nameh, p. 63, note, *suf* is indeed a woollen cloth.

[1061] The Ming Geography mentions the *sa-ha-la* also as a manufacture of *Bang-k'o-la* (Bengal) and *So-li* (Tanjore, M. Polo, ii. 354), and states that this stuff is woven from wool, and that it is downy. There are two kinds, a red and a green. Probably by *sa-ha-la* the Persian *shal* (shawl) is intended. But see also note to Groeneveldt, *l. l.* (new edition), p. 253.

[1062] Fine steel, see note 395.

Emperor, upon whom Heaven has conferred the power to rule over China. The glory of your charity and your virtues has spread over the whole world. The people prosper by your grace, and all the kingdoms lift up their eyes to you gratefully. All they know is that Heaven wishes to regulate the ruling of the people, and ordered your Majesty to arise and accept the fate of the throne, and be the Lord over myriads. The splendour of your reign is bright like the heavenly mirror, and lights up the kingdoms, the adjoining as well as the far. I, *T'ie-mu-rh*, although ten thousand *li* distant from your Majesty, have also heard of your high virtues, surpassing all that has been seen before. You have been favoured by fortune as no emperor has before. The nations, which never had submitted, now acknowledge your supremacy, and even the most remote kingdoms, involved in darkness, have now become enlightened. The old men enjoy happiness, the young men grow up and follow them. All good men are happy, whilst the bad men are struck with fear. Your Majesty has gracefully allowed the merchants of distant countries to come to China and carry on trade. Foreign envoys have had a chance of admiring the wealth of your cities and the strength of your power, like as if they suddenly went out from the dark and saw the light of Heaven. Whereby have we merited such favour? I have respectfully received the gracious letter in which your Majesty has condescended to inquire about my welfare. Owing to your solicitude there have been established post-stations to facilitate the intercourse of foreigners with China, and all the nations of distant countries are allowed to profit by this convenience. I see with deference that the heart of your Majesty resembles that vase which reflects what is going on in the world. My heart has been opened and enlightened by your benevolence. The people in my kingdom have also heard your gracious words. They rejoice and are filled with thankfulness. I can return your Majesty's kindly-disposed feelings only by praying for your happiness and long life. May they last eternally like heaven and earth."[1063]

With respect to the vase reflecting what is going on in the world, (the Chinese chronicler says) there is an ancient tradition among the people of Sa-ma-rh-han about the existence of a vase which has the property of reflecting sunlight in such a way that all affairs of the world can be seen.[1064]

When the emperor had read the letter of T'ie-mu-rh, he was much delighted, saying that it was written in a good style.

In the next year, 1395, the emperor sent one of his secretaries, by name *An* (full name *An Chi tao*, see p. 144), to Sa-ma-rh-han, with presents and a letter for the ruler, to thank him for his kind dispositions.[1065] T'ie-mu-rh sent in one year 1000 horses as tribute, and the emperor made

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[1063] This respectful and flowery letter of Timur addressed to the Chinese emperor is in complete contradiction with what we know from the report of Clavijo, the Castilian ambassador, about Timur's disposition regarding the emperor of China, whom he called a thief and a scoundrel even in the presence of the Chinese envoy, and to whom the Zagatays had given the name of *Tangus*, or "pig emperor." (See above, p. 145.) This latter name, *Tangus Khan*, applied to the Chinese emperor, occurs also in the Zafer nameh, iii. 70, v. 4. However, the allusion to the vase of *Djemshid* (see next note) in the above letter gives it a stamp of authenticity.

[1064] This is without doubt an allusion to the famous *vase of Djemshid*, spoken of frequently by the Persian poets. Rashid-eddin reports that this vase, made of turquoise according to tradition, was dug out of the ruins of *Estekhar* (Persepolis), which city, as is believed, had been founded by Djemshid, the first king of Persia. Djemshid in Persian means "vase of the sun." See d'Herbelot's "Bibl. Orientale." Compare also the Shah nameh, Mohl's transl., iii. 345, 347, 355: "Kai Khosrou voit dans la coupe qui réfléchit l'image du monde."

[1065] The Zafer nameh reports (iii. 70) that in 1396 or '97, when Timur passed the winter near *Chinaz* on the Sihun, ambassadors arrived from *Tanghuz Khan*, emperor of Khatai, with abundance of curious presents. They were introduced to their audience by the great amirs. They offered their presents, and after declaring the subject of their mission, and delivering their credentials, they had their audience of leave, and returned home.

Hung wu, the first Ming emperor, died, according to the Chinese annals, in the summer of 1399. He was succeeded by his grandson, *Kien wen*, a youth of sixteen. *Yung lo*, his son, dissatisfied with this arrangement, return presents of precious stones and money in banknotes.

When Cheng tsu (Yung lo, 1403–24) had come to the throne, he sent again an envoy to Sa-ma-rh-han with a letter for T'ie-mu-rh. *An* at that time had not yet returned, and even in 1405 he was still absent. Intelligence then had been received that T'ie-mu-rh had raised troops, and was about to set them in motion against China, intending to pass through *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Moghulistan). The emperor gave orders to the commander-in-chief in Kan su to make ready for war. In 1407 the envoy *An* and his suite returned to China. He reported that the embassy had been retained by T'ie-mu-rh, who at the same time had refused to send tribute to China, and in order to boast of the great extent of his dominions, he had sent the Chinese envoy, accompanied by an officer from Sa-ma-rh-han, to journey in his states. It was only after T'ie-mu-rh's death[1066] that his grandson and successor, *Ha-li*,[1067] had released *An*, and when the latter returned to China he was accompanied by *Hu-dai-da* (Khodaidad), an envoy of

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overcame his nephew, and seized the crown, after a struggle of four years, in 1403. A few years later, Yung lo moved the capital from Nan king back to Peking. The Zafer nameh (v. 4) reports on these events in the following terms: In 1399 (in autumn or winter, Timur then was encamped in the Karabagh beyond the Araxes) there came advice that *Tanguz Khan*, emperor of Khatai, where he had reigned a long time, professing idolatry, was dead, and that the Khataians had revolted and caused great confusion in the empire.

[1066] According to the Zafer nameh (vi. 30), Timur died on the 18th of February 1405 at *Otrar*, just when he had resolved upon invading China, and moved out at the head of his army towards the east. Clavijo had left Samarkand on the 21st of November 1404. On his way home he went to visit Omar Mirza (Timur's grandson), who was encamped in the plain of Karabagh beyond the Araxes, and when he reached the camp, on the 26th March 1405, he first heard of the death of Timur Beg. But Clavijo is mistaken in stating that Timur died at Samarkand (Clavijo, 179, 186, 187).

[1067] By his last will, Timur had designated as his successor on the throne of Samarkand *Pir Mohammed*, the son of his eldest son, Jehanghir. Herat devolved to the conqueror's fourth son, *Shah Rok*. But after Timur's death, *Khalil Sultan* (the *Ha-li* of the Chinese annals), son of Miran Shah, Ha-li, who sent presents to the emperor. This envoy was richly rewarded. The emperor then despatched the chi hui *Bo-a-rh-hin-tʻai* to offer sacrifices in memory of the deceased king of Sa-ma-rh-han, and bestow presents of silver and silk stuffs on the new king and the people.

About that time *Sha-hei Nu-rh-ding,*[1068] one of the chieftains (Amirs) of Sa-ma-rh-han, sent horses and camels as tribute. When this embassy returned home, *An* was sent for a second time to Sa-ma-rh-han with presents for the king. He returned in 1409. An envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han came along with him. Subsequently Sa-ma-rh-han sent tribute every two or three years.

In 1415, when the Chinese envoys *Li Ta* and *Chʻen Chʻeng* returned from their mission to the *Si yü* (see p. 147), an envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han came with them, and when this envoy returned, he was accompanied by *Chʻen Chʻeng* and *Lu An,* carrying silver and silk stuffs as presents for the chief (of Samarkand), *U-lu Bai*[1069] and others, and when Chʻen

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third son of Timur, usurped the throne, and established his power in Samarkand and Maverannahr (Zafer nameh, vi. 46). He had scarcely reigned four years when he was dethroned by *Khodaidad Husseini,* and conveyed to Moghulistan. The Amir Khodaidad Husseini, a valiant general, who had taken part in most of Timur's campaigns, after the death of the latter sided with Khalil, and put him on the throne. Khodaidad was put to death by order of the Khan of Moghulistan in 1409. As to Khalil Sultan, he returned from Moghulistan. Shah Rok, who had taken possession of Samarkand, sent him to *Rei* in Persia, where he died in 1411.

[1068] The Amir *Sheikh Nureddin,* a famous general in Timur's army. He was present when Timur died. In 1409 he revolted against Shah Rok, and retired with his troops to *Otrar.* He applied for assistance to the Khan of Moghulistan, who agreed to invade Maverannahr, when Sheikh Nureddin was treacherously murdered by one of Shah Rok's generals in 1411.

[1069] *Mirza Ulug Beg,* the eldest son of Shah Rok. He was born in 1394. In 1409 his father entrusted him with the government of Maverannahr and Turkestan, which he held to the day of his death. He resided at Samarkand. The narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China reports, that when this embassy from Herat had reached Samarkand in February 1420, Ulug Beg had already before this despatched his own envoys with a company of Khatai people. It seems that the embassy here spoken of is the same as the one recorded in the Ming shi as having accompanied the Chinese envoy Ch'en Ch'eng when he returned from Samarkand. Ulug

Chʽeng went back to China again, an envoy from Samarkand accompanied him.

In 1420 Chʽen Chʽeng was once more despatched to Samarkand, together with another envoy, the eunuch *Kuo King*.

In 1430, in the autumn or winter, envoys with tribute arrived from Samarkand. They had been sent by the chief *U-lu Bai Mi-rh-dsa* (Ulug Beg Mirza, see note 1069) and other chiefs. In 1432 the eunuch *Li Kui* was despatched to Samarkand with presents for these chiefs.

In 1439 a fine horse was offered to the emperor by the chief of Samarkand. It was of black colour with a white forehead and white feet. By the emperor's orders a picture of it was made, and it was named *shui pao.*[1070]

In 1445, in the tenth month, the emperor wrote the following letter to the Prince of Samarcand, *U-lu-Bai kʽü-lie-han* (Ulug Beg gurkan, see note 1059):—

"I am thankful to you, king, that you have sent tribute from so far a country as yours, and in reward I send you some pieces of silk stuff and garments for your wife and children, and as a particular mark of my esteem I add some vessels made of gold and jade, a spear with a dragon's head, a fine horse with saddle, and variegated gold-embroidered silk stuffs."

In 1456 an embassy from Samarkand with tribute arrived at the capital. The Board of Rites on this occasion made a report to the emperor, stating that it had

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Beg was a very learned prince and protector of sciences. Astronomy especially flourished in Samarkand under his reign. In 1420 he constructed at Samarkand an observatory, the most important result of which was the formation of the *Zich-i-jedeid-i Gurkhani*, or new astronomical tables of Ulug Beg, subsequently in general use among the oriental astronomers for their calculations. (See Sédillot's "Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques de Oloug Beg," 1847, 1853). Ulug Beg was murdered in 1449 by his son Abdullatif.

[1070] It seems that Ulug Beg has twice made to the emperor of China a present of a black horse with white feet. We read in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy that the envoys saw (in 1420) the Chinese emperor mounted on a tall black horse with white legs, which Mirza Ulug Beg had sent him.

always been considered a rule to reward generously the envoys and other members of the foreign embassies who presented tribute, but that this abuse ought to be abolished and the return presents reduced. The Board of Rites proposed, amongst others, the following rates to be adopted:—

Every horse of the breed called *a-lu-gu*,[1071] when presented as tribute, to be estimated as equal to four pieces of variegated velvet and eight garments of cheap silk.

Three camels = ten garments of cheap silk.

One Tatar horse (*Ta-ta ma*) = one piece of hempen cloth and eight pieces of cheap silk.

They (the embassy from Samarkand) had also brought jade, but only twenty-four pieces of it, weighing sixty-eight *kin*, were fit for being worked, whilst the rest, 5900 *kin*, was of no use. The Board of Rites proposed that they should sell it for their own account, but they solicited from the Board permission to accept it at the rate of one piece of cheap silk for every five *kin* of jade, to which the Chinese government consented. When the embassy went home, the emperor sent presents for the king of Samarkand, whose name was *Bu-sa-yin*.[1072]

In 1457 the emperor sent the tu chi hui *Ma Yün* and others to the *Si yü* (western countries). They had also presents for the *So-lu-t'an Mu-sa*,[1073] who ordered an escort for the imperial envoy when he went home. *So-lu-t'an* (Sultan) in their language means "sovereign," and has the same meaning as *K'o-han* (Khan) in Mongol.

[1071] Mr. Schefer (Khitay nameh, p. 63) holds that by *a-lu-gu* the Chinese intend *ulagh*, post-horse. *A-lu-gu* horses are also mentioned in the letters addressed to the Ming emperors by princes and envoys from the kingdoms of Central and Western Asia. See Amiot's translation, *l. c.* It is also not improbable that the Chinese by *a-lu-gu ma* (the last character means horse in Chinese) intended to render the word *arghamak*, which is still the name for Turkoman horses in Samarkand. Compare also the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China: The Chinese emperor said to the envoys that he had a mind to send to Kara Yussuf (the chief of the Turkomans at that time; he died in 1420), and to ask from him some fine race-horses.

[1072] At the time here spoken of, *Sultan Abu Said* reigned in Samarkand. He was a grandson of Mirza Miran Shah, the third son of Timur. Two years after Ulug Beg's death, in 1451, he got possession of Samarkand, where he reigned till 1469, when he undertook an expedition to Azerbeidjan against Uzzan Hassan, the chief of the Turkomans, who made him prisoner and put him to death. About the name Busaid or Busain used for Abu Said, see note 789.

In 1463 the chi hui *Chan Sheng* was entrusted with a mission to Samarkand.

In the reign of Ch'eng hua (1465–88) the *So-lu-t'an A-hei-ma*[1074] sent three times tribute to the Chinese court. In 1483 he sent an embassy to China, together with the chief of *I-sz'-fa-han* (Isfahan, see farther on). They carried as presents two lions.[1075] When A-hei-ma's envoy had arrived at *Su chou* he requested a high Chinese officer to be despatched to meet him. The subject was discussed in the council of Chinese ministers, and from various sides it was objected that lions were useless beasts; they could not be employed in sacrifice, while they were also unfit to be put to a cart. Therefore such presents should be refused. But the emperor ordered a eunuch to be sent to meet the lions. The food of these beasts consisted of two living sheep and two jars of *ts'u yü* (a kind of sour soup), and two jars of milk with honey every day. The name of the envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han was *P'a-liu-wan.*[1076] He was not satisfied with the presents he had received from the emperor. When he returned home, the emperor ordered the eunuch *Wei Lo* and the master of ceremonies *Hai Pin* to accompany him. They went not by the usual way, but proceeded to *Kuang tung* (Canton), where the envoy from Samarkand bought a number of Chinese girls. Wei Lo made Hai Pin responsible for this contravention of the law, and the latter was accordingly degraded. The envoy then asked permission to proceed by sea-route to *Man-la-kia* (Malacca), to buy there a *suan i*,[1077] and present it to the emperor, but Wei Lo made objections. (It is not stated whether or not P'a-liu-wan was finally allowed to go home.)

[1073] It seems that here again Sultan Abu Said is meant.

[1074] *Sultan Ahmed*, the eldest son of Abu Said. He succeeded his father on the throne of Samarkand, and died in 1493.

[1075] The Khitay nameh (Shefer's transl. 63) reports that the Mohammedan merchants who (in the fifteenth century) go to China by the land route usually carry with them for sale lions, onces, and lynxes, for these beasts are highly prized there.

[1076] Probably *Pehelevan*, meaning "valiant" in Persian.

In 1489 an envoy from Samarkand arrived at *Kuang tung* (Canton). He had come by way of *Man-la-kia*, and brought as tribute a lion and parrots. The governor of Kuang tung reported to Peking on his arrival. The Board of Rites objected that the sea-way was not the regular way for tribute carried from Samarkand, and that besides this, a lion was a beast too dangerous to be kept for pleasure. Its transport to the court would cause great trouble and require considerable expense. The emperor himself had declared that he disliked rare birds as well as strange beasts. But nevertheless presents were bestowed upon the envoy.

In the next year (1490) an envoy from Samarkand arrived together with an embassy from *Tu-lu-fan* (Turfan), to present a lion and a beast called *ha-la-hu-la*.[1078] When they reached Kan su, pictures were taken of these beasts and sent by a courier to the emperor. The ministers proposed to refuse these presents, but the emperor agreed to receive them.

An embassy from Samarkand to the Chinese court is further recorded under the year 1501, and several embassies from the same country arrived in the reign of Cheng te, 1506–22.

When in 1523 an embassy from Samarkand had reached the capital, the Board of Rites laid before the emperor a report, pointing out that the embassies from foreign countries to the Chinese court used to be on their road a whole year, and then spent a considerable time at the capital.

[1077] I am not prepared to say what the Chinese author means. *Suan i*, according to Williams' Dictionary, 273, 833, a fabulous beast like a lion.

[1078] The *caracal*, Felis caracal, the Asiatic lynx. See I., p. 127.

For the whole time their subsistence was at the charge of the *kuang lu* (banqueting office). As there were no sums for defraying these expenses, it was proposed to change these regulations. The emperor agreed.

In 1533 Samarkand sent tribute to the court. The envoy arrived together with embassies from *T'ien fang* (Arabia) and *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan). The Chinese government was puzzled by the circumstance that these embassies turned out to have been sent by nearly one hundred rulers, who all called themselves *wang* (kings or princes), namely, fifteen in Turfan, twenty-seven in Arabia, and fifty-three in Samarkand. In the year 1536 the number of kings in the western countries who offer tribute amounted even to more than 150. The question whether these titles had to be acknowledged by the Chinese government was much discussed in the council of ministers, and it was finally decided to title them in the imperial rescripts as they used to call themselves. In the new regulations it was further established that in future foreigners should not be employed as interpreters, and only Chinese interpreters had to be used.

In the reign of Wan li (1573–1620) the intercourse with Samarkand was still animated, for those foreigners liked to carry on trade with the Chinese people. Besides this, it was the custom that when they had entered China, the Chinese government took charge of their maintenance. It had, however, been settled that tribute should be sent from Samarkand only once in five years.[1079]

After this historical sketch of Chinese intercourse with Samarkand in the days of the Ming, the Ming shi adds a few details describing the city of Samarkand, the productions and customs of the country, &c. As the information on the same subject found in the Ming Geography is more detailed, I present in the following translation a fusion of these notices given in both works. The Ming Geography draws principally from the above-noticed narrative (see p. 147), *Shi Si yü ki,* the original of which does not exist at the present time.

[1079] In the very beginning of the sixteenth century the Timurids were expelled from Samarkand by *Sheibani Mohammed* Khan, the founder of the Uzbeg dynasty in Khovarezm, and of Uzbeg power in Transoxiana (*v. supra*, p. 142). It does not seem that the Mohammedan annals posterior to the middle of the fifteenth century mention any diplomatical intercourse between Samarkand and China. The so-called embassies from Samarkand, as recorded in the Chinese annals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bore probably a purely commercial character.

The kingdom of Samarkand extends for 3000 *li* from east to west. It consists of vast plains. The soil is fertile. The city in which the king has his residence is 10 *li* wide and upwards, and its population is densely crowded.[1080]

[1080] In 1404 Clavijo, the Castilian ambassador, visited Samarkand. Schildberger seems to have been there at the same time. Clavijo (165–170) gives some accounts of the capital of Tamerlane. He states that it was a little larger than the city of Sevilla, situated in a plain, and surrounded by an earthen wall. Outside the city there were a great number of houses, joined together in many parts so as to form suburbs. The city was surrounded on all sides by gardens and vineyards, which extended in some directions a league and a half, in others two leagues. Amongst these gardens, which were outside, there were great and noble houses, and here the Lord had several palaces. Many streams of water flowed through the city and through these gardens, and among these gardens there are many cotton-plantations and melon-grounds. The land is very plentiful in all things. And the name of *Samarcand* or *Cimesquinte* is derived from the words *cimes* great and *quinte* a town (*v. supra*, p. 59).

After Clavijo and Schildberger, for nearly four centuries no European visited Samarkand; so that Ritter in his "Asia" (1837) could give no information respecting it during that period, except some notices derived from Chinese sources. The first European who, after the Castilian ambassador, saw Samarkand, was the Russian subaltern *Yefremof.* He was made prisoner in 1774 by the Kirghizes at the frontier south of Orenburg, and sold to a Beg in Bokhara, but he at length succeeded in escaping, and fled westward to Samarkand, Khokand, Marghilan, where he passed for a Nogai Tartar. Here he joined a caravan which was going to Kashgar, and from Yarkand took the route to India *via* Tibet and Delhi. Having reached Calcutta, he embarked for Europe, reached London, and in August 1782 St. Petersburg, where he published the narrative of his peregrinations.

For the first authentic account of Samarkand (Yefremof devotes only a few words to this city) we are indebted to the members of a Russian scientific expedition sent to Transoxiana in 1841. See vol. i. p. 78.

We learn from Professor Vambery's "Travels in Central Asia" that the author visited the celebrated city of Samarkand in 1863, of which he gives a detailed description. But when a few years later the Russians took pos-

In the south-western part of the city numerous stores of various kinds of merchandise are found. The city is known also under the name of "city of abundance." In the north-eastern part of it there is a beautiful building set apart for praying to Heaven. The pillars of it are all of *ts'ing shi* (blue stone), with engraved figures. There is in this building a hall where the sacred book is explained.[1081]

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session of Samarkand (1st of May 1868), and the city became as well known as any other city of the Russian empire, serious doubts were raised whether the Professor's description of the ruins of Samarkand were really founded on personal observation.

On the Russian map of Samarkand the walled city is represented as an oblique, somewhat irregular square, each side measuring about two English miles. There can be no doubt that modern Samarkand (*i.e.*, the Mohammedan city, for the Russians have built a new city to the north-west) is the same as the city of Timur, which is proved by the ruins of the buildings erected by Timur being all comprised in the modern city. The *Ark*, or citadel, situated on the western limit of the city, on a hill, was built by order of Timur in 1370, immediately after his accession to the throne of Maverannahr. We read in the Zafer nameh, ii. 2, that Timur, after making Samarkand the capital of his empire, caused the walls of the city to be repaired and a fortress to be erected. He built stately palaces and neat public edifices. Ibid. vi. 26, *s. a.* 1404: Timur went from the College of Serai Mulk Khanum to the *Arek* (citadel), and lodged at *gheuk serai* (blue palace), a palace he had built. This blue palace is, I have no doubt, the edifice in the citadel which contains the celebrated *gheuk tash* or blue stone. Vambery (205) calls it the reception-hall of Timur. In the northern part of the city, not far from the northern wall, are the ruins of the *Medresseh* (College) *i Khanym*, which, according to Khanykoff and Vambery, was built by a Chinese princess, wife of Timur. I have already proved (see note 1059) that this princess, Serai Mulk Khanum, was the daughter of Kazan Khan of Turkestan and Maverannahr, not of the Chinese emperor. The College of Serai Mulk Khanum is repeatedly mentioned in the Zafer nameh. It was opposite the Great Mosque, finished in 1404 (see note 1081). Professor Vambery describes the Medresseh i Khanym from his own observation, strange to say, as situated near the Dervazei Bokhara (south-western gate), whilst on the map, and according to all the Russian explorers who have described the ruins of Samarkand (Khanykoff, Lehmann, Fedchenko, Dr. Radloff, &c.), it lies near the northern gate, Shah Zindeh. In the Zafer nameh this gate is called Sheikh Zade, and repeatedly noticed. I may finally mention the most interesting of the ancient monuments within the city of Samarkand, the celebrated *Sepulchre of Timur*, which lies in its southern part. Compare also about Samarkand note 197.

[1081] The Chinese reporter saw probably the Great Mosque, the most magnificent of the buildings erected by Timur. The foundation of it was

This sacred book is written in gold characters, the cover being made of sheep's leather.

The king wears a white round cap, his wives wind about their heads white silk stuffs. The people are handsome and skilful. The customs and the productions of Samarkand resemble those of *Ha-lie* (Herat). The use of wine is prohibited, and it is not allowed to sell it in the market. For their beverage and food the people like sour and sweet things. They mix their broth with rice and meat. Their vessels are of gold and silver. They do not use chopsticks (to take up food with them) nor spoons, but take their food up with their fingers. When they kill oxen or sheep they bury the blood in the ground.[1082] In trade they use silver coins minted in the country.

The following products are enumerated :—

Fine horses, single-humped camels, broad-tailed sheep.

Lions are met in the reed-jungles near the river *A-mu.* When they come into the world they have their eyes closed for the first seven days. The people there take advantage of this time to catch the young lions. It is impossible to tame them when they are more developed.[1083]

Gi-bi-sz'-tan, a tree the leaves of which resemble the leaves of the *shan ch'a* (camellia), whilst the fruit is similar to that of the *yin hing* (Salisburia adiantifolia), but a little smaller.

Wa-shi-shi, a plant resembling the *ye hao* (artemisia).

laid in the spring of 1399, after Timur's return from the expedition to India. It was built opposite the College of Serai Mulk Khanum (see note 1080), and finished in 1404. The Zafer nameh (iv. 34, vi. 24) gives a detailed description of this beautiful mosque, which now seems to have entirely disappeared. Vambery (*l. c.* 205), giving a short description of the Mosque of Timur from his own observation, states that it lies on the south side of the city ; but neither Dr. Radloff, who describes in detail the ruins of Samarkand, nor other Russian explorers of its remains, mention this mosque.

[1082] This is still the custom with the butchers in Persia. See also Chardin's "Voyage en Perse," iv. 142.

[1083] The Mohammedan authors report that Hulagu in 1254, after crossing the Djihun or Amu river, organised a lion-hunt. Ten lions were killed (d'Ohsson, iii. 140). Now-a-days there are no lions found in those tracts.

The fruit is very fragrant, and good for driving away insects.

Hua jui pu (lit., cloth made of blossoms. Probably cotton).

Shui tsing yen (rock-crystal salt). This kind of salt is very hard and bright, like rock-crystal. The people make dishes of it. When moistening these dishes with water, meat can be eaten in them without using salt.[1084]

Besides this, gold, silver, copper, iron, and jade are found in this country.

East of the city of Samarkand there is a river called *Ha-la-bu-lan*. It is shallow but broad, and flows northward.

To the east, the country of Samarkand borders upon *Sha-lu-hai-ya* (Shahrokia), *Ta-shi-gan* (Tashkend), *Sai-lan* (Sairam), *Yang-i* (Yanghikend). West of Samarkand are *K'o-shi* (Kesh) and *T'ie-li-mi* (Termed). All these places (or countries) depend on Samarkand.

I may finally notice that in Amiot's translation of letters, &c., there are five addressed to the Ming emperors by envoys from Samarkand.

BU-HUA-RH (BOKHARA).

Bu-hua-rh is situated more than 700 *li* north-west of Samarkand. The city lies in a plain, and is 10 *li* and more in circumference (erroneous figure). The population numbers 10,000 families, and has the repute of great wealth. The land is low and the climate warm. The country produces the five kinds of corn, mulberry trees, silk, hemp, the six kinds of domestic animals, and is very rich.

After this the mission of *Ch'en Ch'eng* (see p. 147) is reported with some details. In 1432 *Li Ta* (see p. 148) visited Bu-hua-rh.

[1084] Chardin, iii. 358, reports that the stone salt of Persia is so hard that the poor men build their houses of it.

HEI-LOU (KHORASSAN ?).

Hei-lou is not far from Samarkand. These two countries have always been allied by marriages (of their rulers). The mountains, rivers, plants, birds, and beasts of Hei-lou are all of a black colour. Even the men and women there are black.[1085]

In 1432 an embassy from this country arrived with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1437 another embassy was sent to China by the king of Hei-lou, called *Sha-ha-lu So-lu-t'an* (Shah Rok Sultan). At the head of this embassy was the chi hui *Ha-dji Ma-hei-ma* (Hadji Mahmud). He presented tribute and received presents for his sovereign. In 1441 again an embassy from Hei-lou arrived, and in 1453 an embassy from that country reached the capital, together with (a caravan of) thirty-one neighbouring tribes (cities), comprising more than 100 men and women. They presented as tribute 247 horses, 12 mules, 10 donkeys, 7 camels, besides jade, sal ammoniac, fine swords made of *pin t'ie* (steel).

In 1463 the king of *Hei-lou*, by name *Mu-sai-i*,[1086] sent his chi hui ts'ien shi *Ma-hei-ma She-rh-ban* and others, with tribute to the emperor. The envoy received presents for his sovereign, and was himself rewarded, and raised to the rank of chi hui t'ung chi. The seven officers who had come with him were all raised to higher ranks.

In 1483 an embassy from Hei-lou arrived together with the envoys from *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), *Samarkand*, and *Badan-sha* (Badakhshan). They carried lions as presents.

[1085] The statements are altogether absurd. *Hei* in Chinese means black, but *Hei-lou* is not a Chinese name; it seems to be intended to render the name of Khorassan or Herat, as appears from the mentioning of Shah Rok as the ruler of this country. The Ming shi, however, has yet another article devoted to Herat, where this city is termed *Ha-lie* (see farther on).

[1086] It seems to me that here again *Sultan Abu Said* of Samarkand (see note 1072) is meant. In 1458 he had taken also possession of Herat and Khorassan, and ruled over this province to the day of his death in 1469.

The name of the ruler of Ba-dan-sha (at that time) was *So-lu-tʻan Ma-hei-ma.*[1087]

Once more an embassy from Hei-lou is recorded under the year 1490. It reached the court at the same time as an embassy from *Tʻien fang* (Arabia) and several other embassies. They brought as tribute camels, horses, and jade.

Kʻ0-SHI (KESH OR KASH).

Kʻo-shi is situated south-west of Sa-ma-rh-han, 360 *li* distant from this city. The city of Kʻo-shi, which is 10 *li* in circumference, lies in the middle of great villages. There are fine palaces and a beautiful temple. The pillars of it are of jade; the walls, doors, and windows are adorned with gold, precious stones, and coloured glass. In times past the ruler of Samarkand *fu ma Tʻie-mu-rh* (see note 1059) used to reside in this city. Outside of it there are fields irrigated by water. To the south-east, in the neighbouring hills, there are plenty of gardens, and 10 *li* and more west of Kʻo-shi one meets with very rare trees.[1088] Three hundred *li* to the west (should be south) the traveller reaches a great imposing mountain, with a defile through it. One might think that it had been cut artificially. At the exit of the defile, which is 2 or 3 *li* long, and has a direction from east to west, there is a stone gate. The colour of the stones is that of iron. For this reason the people of the country call this gate *T'ie men kuan* (Iron gate).[1089] A military post has been established there. There is a tradition that T'ai tsu of the Yüan (Chinghiz Khan) met here an animal with one horn.[1090]

[1087] See farther on the article Badakhshan, p. 277.

[1088] *Kesh* or *Kash*, the name of a district and a city south of Samarkand, in a very fertile country, and surrounded by a number of rich villages. Comp. note 209. Kesh is widely known as the birthplace and original patrimony of the great Timur (Zafer nameh, preface). It was also called *Shehr-i-sebz.* On modern maps it is generally called *Shehr.* We read in the Zafer nameh, i. 4: When Timur had become absolute master of Maverannahr in 1360, he took up his abode in the city of *Kesh,* called also *Shehr sebz,* or verdant city. Ibid. ii. 28: *Kesh,* called also *Sheher sebz,* the green city, because of the verdure and freshness of its gardens, and a meadow famous for its rare and curious plants, was the place where the most learned doctors of the Mohammedan law assembled. At the same time men of learning came from all parts to this city. Since the end of 781, Heg. (March 1380) Timur made it his ordinary residence in summer, and declared it the second seat of the empire; wherefore he built there new walls and a new palace, which he named *Akserai,* because the walls were white. All the sherifs, doctors, and learned men from Khovarezm, after the capture of the capital (in 1379) were sent to Kesh, as also the tradesmen. Timur was charmed with the beauty of this city, the purity of the air in the surrounding plains, the goodness of the water, the deliciousness of its gardens. Baber in his "Memoirs," i. 105, 106, gives the following notice

with respect to this city :—*Kesh* is situated south of Samarkand, at the distance of nine igadj. Between the two cities lies a hill called *Amak dayan*, from which all the stones brought to the city are quarried. In the spring the plains, the town of Kesh, the walls and terraces of the houses, are all green and cheerful, whence it is named *Shehr-i-sebz*. At Kesh was the place of Timur's nativity; he raised there vast buildings. Clavijo, who passed through *Kesh* in 1404, gives (p. 123) a detailed description of Kesh and the beautiful country around it. He speaks also of a grand mosque which Timur had ordered to be built, which then was not yet finished, within which the body of his father was interred. Timur had ordered another great chapel to be built for his own body. The first-born son of Timur was also interred in this mosque, named Jehanghir. Comp. Zafer nameh, ii. 18, about the magnificent mausoleum erected in Kesh for the body of the deceased prince Jehanghir.

The city of *Shehr* (anciently Kesh) now belongs to the Khanate of Bokhara. It lies about four English miles south-west of the city of *Kitab*, founded in the middle of the last century. When, in 1870, Kitab for a time was occupied by Russian troops, Mr. Kuhn visited Shehr, and in 1880 published in the "Memoirs of the Russian Geogr. Soc.," vi. p. 203, an interesting article on his explorations. The ruins of Timur's palace, Akserai, can still be seen there, as also the remains of four other buildings of the time of Timur. The Russian expedition to Kabul in 1878 passed through Shehr. Yavorsky (i. 371, ii. 31) speaks of the beautiful gardens and the splendid vegetation around and within the city. The ancient name of *Kesh* or *Kash* has survived in the name of the river *Kashka daria*, on which the city is situated.

[1089] Compare about the Iron gate note 211. This celebrated defile, through which the road from Samarkand southward to the Jihun, and farther to Balkh and Kabul leads, is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh, and termed there *Derbend aheny* (Iron gate in Persian), or *Kolugha*. Sometimes the latter name is also written *Khulke* or *Kehulkeh* (i. 5, iii. 2, iv. 33, vi. 23). *Kolugha* had, it seems, the same meaning in the Djagatai Turki dialect as *derbend*, *i.e.*, gate. In Mongol, *Khalga* means a mountain pass, a gate.

[1090] About this legend see i. p. 289, and note 696.

T‘IE-LI-MI (TERMED).

This place lies south-west of Sa-ma-rh-han, 2000 *li* and upwards distant from *Ha-lie* (Herat). There is an old and a new city at a distance of more than 10 *li* between them. The population of the city and its neighbourhood consists of only several hundred families, who are engaged in the breeding of cattle. The city of T‘ie-li-mi is situated east of the river *A-mu*, which abounds with fish. The country east of the river belongs to Samarkand. To the west are vast forests (jungles) of *lu* (reeds), in which lions are met with.[1091]

Ch‘en Ch‘eng and *Li Ta* (Chinese envoys, see pp. 147, 148) visited T‘ie-li-mi.

AN-DU-HUAI (ANDKHUI).

This place is situated 1300 *li* north-west (should be north-east) of *Ha-lie* (Herat), and at the same distance south-east (south-west) of Samarkand. The city is surrounded by great villages, and is more than 10 *li* in circumference. It lies in a fertile, well-watered, and well-populated plain, and has the reputation of being a pleasant place.

[1091] The Chinese account of T‘ie-li-mi evidently refers to *Termed*, but the Chinese author is mistaken with respect to its position. We have to read north for east, and south for west. About the early history of Termed see p. 63. Termed is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh. The name is written also *Termez*. Timur in his expeditions from Samarkand to Herat and Persia generally proceeded by way of Kesh and the Iron gate, and crossed the Amu River or Jihun at Termed on a bridge of boats (Zafer nameh, i. 8, 22, ii. 31, 43, 48, iii. 2, iv. 2, 32, &c.). In Timur's Autobiogr., 53, we read that Timur in 1361 took possession of *Old Termez*. De Guignes, "Huns," v. 80, states (evidently on the authority of a Mohammedan author) that in 1407 Khalil Sultan ordered the city of Termed to be rebuilt at a distance of one parasang from the old city. Clavijo (118, 119), who travelled by the great highway leading from Persia to Samarkand, after crossing the great river *Viadme* (Oxus), arrived at a great city called *Termit*, which once belonged to India the Less, but was then belonging to Timur, who had conquered it, and from this place the empire of Samarkand began. Clavijo further reports that the bridge over the river at this place was only for the use of Timur, and when he had passed from one side to the other the people had to break it off.

Between 1400 and 1416 An-du-huai used to send tribute together with *Ha-lie* (Herat), but afterwards the intercourse with this place was not continued.[1092]

BA-DA-HEI-SHANG (BADAKHSHAN).

Ba-da-hei-shang is situated north-east of *An-du-huai*. The city is 10 *li* and more in circumference.[1093] The country is vast. There are no obstacles on the route (notwithstanding the high mountains the traveller has to cross). The mountains and the rivers present beautiful scenery. The people are peaceable there. Many towers are seen in the country. The merchants from the *Si yü* (Central and Western Asia) and those from the *Si yang* (Western Sea, *i.e.*, Indian, Arabian ports, &c.) all come to this country to traffic. For this reason the people of Ba-da-hei-shang are very wealthy.

[1092] The city of *Andhui* or *Andkud* still exists in Khorassan, and, as the Chinese author correctly observes, it lies midway between Samarkand and Herat. Vambery ("Gesch. Bochara's," &c., i. p. xxx.) suggests that Andkud may have been founded by the Mongols, the name being of Mongol origin, and meaning "united happiness." But the learned Professor is mistaken in his supposition. Although Andkud is not a very ancient city, the name does not appear in the early Arab geographers; it existed, however, in the middle of the twelfth century, long before the name of the Mongols became known in Western Asia. Yakut (Barbier de Meynard, "Dict. Perse," 54) mentions *Endekhud*, a city between Merv and Balkh, and notices a celebrated jurist who died in this city about the middle of the twelfth century. It was near *Endekhod* that the army of Sultan Shihab-eddin of Gur was destroyed by Sultan Mohammed of Khovarezm (d'Ohsson, i. 188). This happened towards the end of the twelfth century. The name of Andekud occurs frequently in the Zafer nameh, and in the history of Shah Rok. On modern maps the name is always written *Andhui*.

[1093] According to Colonel Yule ("M. Polo," i. 164), the ancient capital of Badakhshan stood in the plain of Baharak, east of Faizabad, the modern capital. This city of Badakhshan is also mentioned in the Zafer nameh, i. 24. Timur, having defeated the princes of Badakhshan in 1368, remained in the city of Badakhshan, and ratified a peace there between the princes and the Amir Hussein.

At first (*i.e.*, when the Chinese intercourse with Badakhshan began, under the Ming), the son of *Sha-ha-lu* (Shah Rok) was the chief of Ba-da-hei-shang.[1094] In 1408 the emperor Yung lo sent the eunuchs *Pa Tʻai* and *Li Ta* with a letter and presents to the chief of Ba-da-hei-shang. These envoys had received orders to visit also the countries of *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar) and *Ko-tʻe-lang*,[1095] and to recommend to the rulers of these countries the protection of the merchants passing through their dominions. And since that time the intercourse of the distant countries with China through Badakhshan has met with no difficulties.

In 1414 *Chʻen Chʻeng* was sent to this country, and in 1420 an embassy with tribute from Badakhshan arrived at Peking, together with the embassy from *Ha-lie* (Herat).[1096] When these envoys returned to their countries, they were accompanied by *Chʻen Chʻeng* and the eunuch *Kuo King*.

In 1461 the prince (wang) of Badakhshan, by name *Ma-ha-ma*,[1097] sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court, and in the next year another envoy arrived from that country. His name was *A-bu-du-la.* The rank of chi hui tʻung chi, bestowed in former times upon his father, was now transferred to the son.

[1094] During the reign of Timur, Badakhshan was ruled by its own princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Timur. In 1412 the prince of Badakhshan revolted against Shah Rok, who sent his son Ibrahim Sultan thither, who reduced the rebel to obedience. In 1417 Shah Rok entrusted his son Siurgatmish with the government of Badakhshan.

[1095] *Khotl* or *Khotelan*, a name not found on modern maps, was applied in ancient times to a country on the Upper Jihun, north of Badakhshan. Ibn Haukal, quoted by Abulfeda, II. ii. 229, couples it with the country of Wakhsh, and states that Khotal is situated between the river Wakhshab and the river Badakhshan, called also Djariab. Compare also about Khotelan Yule's "Cathay," ccxxxv. Khotlan is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh. At first it was ruled, like Badakhshan, by its own princes, but subsequently Timur annexed it to the dominions of his grandson, Pir Mohammed Jehanghir, who ruled over Balkh, Kabul, Ghaznin, &c.

[1096] This embassy from Badakhshan is noticed in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China.

[1097] I have not been able to make out from Mohammedan sources who ruled in Badakhshan in 1461. But the *So-lu tʻan Ma-hei-ma* of Badakhshan, who, according to the Chinese annals, sent an embassy in 1483 (*v. supra*, p. 273), was without doubt *Sultan Mahmud*, the second son of the unfortunate Sultan Abu Said. As Mirkhond reports, he took possession after the death of his father in 1469 of Hissar, Badakhshan, Kondez, Bakalan, &c. Sultan Mahmud died in 1494.

HA-LIE (HARI OR HERAT).

Ha-lie, called also *Hei-lu,*[1098] is situated 3000 *li* south-west of Samarkand, and is distant from *Kia yü kuan* (at the Chinese frontier) 12,000 *li.* It is a large kingdom in the *Si yü.* When *Tʻie-mu-rh,* the *fu ma* of the *Yüan* (Mongol dynasty),[1099] ruled in Samarkand, he sent his son *Sha-ha-lu*[1100] to occupy Ha-lie.

During the reign of the emperor Hung wu (1368–99) *Samarkand* and *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Moghulistan) used to send tribute to the Chinese court, but owing to the great distance no embassy from Ha-lie was seen in China at this period. In 1392 the emperor despatched to the ruler of Ha-lie an officer with a letter and presents, consisting of gold-embroidered silk, &c. But this officer did not reach Ha-lie.[1101]

In 1395 the envoys *An* and *Kuo Ki* (see p. 144) were sent to the countries of the west. This embassy was escorted by 1500 (Chinese) soldiers. Tʻie-mu-rh retained it in Samarkand. In 1397 the emperor despatched another embassy thither, at the head of which he placed *Chen Te*

[1098] *Herat,* ancient *Aria,* in the Middle Ages was generally known under the names of *Hari* or *Heri.* See vol. i. note 684.

[1099] Allied by marriage with the house of Chinghiz Khan. See note 1059.

[1100] *Shah Rok,* the fourth son of Timur, was born in 1377. In 1397 his father gave him during his life the propriety of the kingdom of Khorassan, and Shah Rok established his residence at Herat (Zafer nameh, iii. 67). After Timur's death in 1405, he mounted as independent sovereign the throne of Herat. Shah Rok died in 1447 at Rei.

[1101] At the beginning of Timur's career Herat was ruled by princes of the Kurt dynasty. In 1381 Timur took Herat from Pir Ali, the last ruler of this dynasty, and constituted his son, Mirza Miran Shah, governor of Herat and Khorassan. But this prince was only for a short time there (Zafer nameh, ii. 31–33). In 1397 Shah Rok was ruler of Herat.

wen, the chief inquisitor of Pei p'ing (Peking). But this embassy also did not return.

When Yung lo had ascended the throne (in 1403), he sent an officer with a letter and presents to the king of Ha-lie. But the latter did not send any embassy to China.

In 1407 the embassies headed by *An* and by *Chen Te wen* returned. The latter, a man from Pao ch'ang hien (Kuang tung province), reported that the king of Ha-lie had sent tribute to China, but that owing to the great distance this embassy had not reached the court. Chen Te wen had gathered on his way some information about the customs of the countries seen by him, and presented his notices in the form of a poem to the emperor, who was much delighted, and promoted him in rank.

In 1408 *An* was again entrusted with a mission to the west. He bore a letter and presents for *Sha-ha-lu Badu-rh* (Shah Rok Bahadur), ruler of *Ha-lie;*[1102] and when An returned he was accompanied by an envoy of Sha-ha-lu, carrying with him tribute. (The Ming Geography calls this envoy the chieftain *Mo-lai.*) They arrived at the Chinese capital in 1409, where the embassy was well received. In 1410 another envoy from Ha-lie arrived.

[1102] We find ample corroboration for the Chinese records regarding the political intercourse between China and Herat in the fifteenth century in the life of Shah Rok, as recorded by Abder-razzak (see p. 153). These details were translated more than a century ago by Chambers, and are found also in Quatremère's translation of the same author in the "Not. et Extr.," XIV. i. (1843). My quotations in the subsequent pages refer to W. Chambers' article, "An Account of Embassies and Letters that passed between the Emperor of China and Sultan Shah Rokh, son of Amir Timur," the "Asiatic Miscellany," i. 1785, Calcutta, p. 71 *seq.* Abder-rezzak records :—

When the Khakan (*i.e.*, Shah Rok) returned from his expedition to Seistan (he returned on the 17th January 1409), ambassadors who had been sent by the Emperor of China to condole with him on the death of his father arrived with a variety of presents, and represented what they had to say on the part of their monarch. The Khakan, after showing them many favours and civilities, dismissed them. This seems to refer to the mission of An, which departed from China in 1408. In the article Samarkand, however (see p. 262), it is stated that Bo-a-rh-hin t'ai was sent to offer sacrifices in memory of Timur.

Sha-ha-lu was on bad terms with *Ha-li*, the son of his elder brother, Timur's successor. They attacked each other.[1103] Therefore, when the envoy of Ha-lie returned home, the emperor sent the tu chi hui *Bo-a-rh-hin t‘ai* (repeatedly mentioned in connection with missions to the west) to Sha-ha-lu with a letter of the following tenor:—

"Heaven has created men and appointed rulers to govern them. They (*i.e.*, the ruler and the people) have mutual duties. I am ruling now over China, and look upon all nations with benevolence. I make no difference between near and far countries. I have sent several times envoys to you, and accordingly you have done your duty in sending me your tribute. Your people in the west enjoyed peace and were happy. I was also much satisfied by your zeal. But subsequently I was informed that you are living in discord with your nephew *Ha-li* (Khalil Sultan), and make mutually war one on another. (Do not forget that) only when living in harmony relatives are able to stand up against outward enemies. When near relatives thus quarrel, how shall the distant relatives live in harmony with you? You must cease to make war, render peace to the people, and maintain the kindred bonds. Then you will enjoy the happiness of peace."[1104]

The emperor wrote a letter of the same tenor to *Ha-li*

[1103] Indeed Shah Rok marched out twice, in 1405 and 1406, from Herat against Mirza Khalil Sultan, who after the death of Timur had usurped the throne of Samarkand, but they made peace before their armies had encountered each other. Khalil Sultan was dethroned in 1409. See note 1067.

[1104] This letter, addressed by the Chinese emperor to Shah Rok, which I have translated from the Ming shi, presents a peculiar interest, the original of it having been translated nearly five hundred years ago into Persian, which translation has been preserved in Abder-razzak's Matla-assaadeïn. This Persian version, turned into English by Chambers (*l. c.*), proves that the Ming shi gives only an abstract of this letter. We read in the above mentioned Persian historical record:—

In 1412 (A.D.) ambassadors from *Day Ming Khan*,* emperor of *Chin*

* *Ta Ming*, in Chinese the Great Ming (dynasty).

(Khalil), exhorting him to cease quarrelling with his uncle.

Bo-a-rh-hin-tʻai visited (besides Herat) *Sa-ma-rh-han*, *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), *An-di-gan* (Andekan in Ferghana), *An-du-hui* (Andkhui), *Tʻu-lu-fan* (Turfan), *Huo chou*, *Liu-chʻeng*, *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), and exhorted the rulers of these countries to send tribute. They were all much delighted, and they all dispatched embassies, which arrived

and *Machin* (Southern China)[*] and all those countries, arrived at Herat. (Detailed description of the festivities and solemnity ordered by Shah Rok on this occasion.) His Majesty, with a splendour like the sun, ascended his throne and bestowed upon the chief of his lords and on the ambassadors the happiness of kissing his hand. The latter, after offering him their presents, delivered their message. The letter they brought from the Emperor of China was as follows :—

"The Great Emperor *Day Ming* sends this letter to the country of Samarkand to Shah Rokh Bahadur.

"As we consider that the Most High God has created all things that are in heaven and on earth, to the end that all his creatures may be happy, and that it is in consequence of his sovereign decree that we are become Lord of the face of the earth,[†] we therefore endeavour to exercise rule in obedience to his commands ; and for this reason we make no partial distinction between those that are near and those that are far off, but regard them all with an eye of equal benevolence.

"We have heard, before this, that thou art a wise and an excellent man, highly distinguished above others ; that thou art obedient to the command of the Most High God ; that thou art a father to thy people and thy troops, and art good and beneficent towards all ; which has given us much satisfaction. But it was with singular pleasure we observed that when we sent an ambassador with *kimkhas* and *torkos*[‡] and a dress, thou didst pay all due honour to our command, and didst make a proper display of the favour thou hadst received, insomuch that small and great rejoiced at it. Thou didst also forthwith dispatch an ambassador to do us homage, and to present us the rarities, horses, and choice manufactures of that country. So that with the strictest regard to the truth, we can declare that we have deemed thee worthy of praise and of distinction.

"The government of the Moghuls was some time ago extinct, but thy father, *Timur-fuma* (see note 1059), was obedient to the commands of the at the Chinese court together with the embassy from *Halie* (Herat). The latter carried a lion,[1105] a leopard, and western horses for the emperor, who received the ambassadors in audience in his palace. The ambassadors of Herat occupied the first place. When they returned, *Li Ta*,

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[*] Comp. Yule's "Cathay," cxix. Machin confounded with *Manzi*, Southern China. The Persian author uses *Chin* and *Khatai* indiscriminately to designate China.

[†] The Chinese original has *Tʻien hia*, beneath the sky. Thus the Chinese call the world ruled by the Son of Heaven. This term has been erroneously translated by "Celestial Empire."

[‡] Chambers observes that *kimkhas* seems to be the *kinkob* of the English in India, a stuff composed of silk and cotton with flowers of gold. See Yule-Burnell, "Glossary," *s. v.* "Kincob." *Torgo*=satin.

Most High God and did homage to our great Emperor *Tay zuy*,[*] nor did he omit to send ambassadors with presents. He (the Emperor) for this reason granted protection to the men of that country and enriched them all. We have now seen that thou art a worthy follower of thy father in his noble spirit and in his measures. We have therefore sent *Duji-chunbay-azkasay* and *Harara Suchu* and *Danching Sadasun Kunchi*[†] with congratulations and a dress and *kimkhas* and *torgos*. We shall hereafter send persons whose office it will be to go and return successively, in order to keep open a free communication, that merchants may traffic and carry on their business to their wish.

"*Khalil Sultan* is thy brother's son; it is necessary that thou treat him with kindness, in consideration of his rights as being the son of so near a relation. We trust that thou wilt pay attention to our sincerity and to our advice in these matters. This is what we make known to thee!"

Another letter, Abder-razzak adds, was sent with the presents, and contained a particular account of them, besides one calculated to serve as a pass, which was to remain with the ambassadors. Each was written in the Persian language and character, as well as in the Turkish language with the Moghul character, and likewise in the language and character of China.

His Majesty attended to the letter, and apprehended its meaning with his usual penetration; and when he had understood the objects of the embassy, he gave his assent to them all, and then gave orders that the Lords should entertain the ambassadors.

After the affairs of the Chinese ambassadors were settled, they had an audience of leave and set out on their return. Sheikh *Mohammed Bakshy* accompanied them as envoy on the part of His Majesty, and as the emperor of China had not yet assented to the Mussulman faith, nor regulated his conduct by the law of the Koran, His Majesty, from motives of friendship, sent him a letter of good advice in Arabic and Persian, conceiving that perhaps the Emperor might be prevailed upon to embrace the faith. (These letters have also been translated by Chambers, but they are of little interest.)

[1105] About the lions and other beasts brought by the Mohammedan merchants and envoys to China, see note 1075. In the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy a lion is also noticed among the presents carried along for the Chinese emperor.

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[*] *T'ai tsu*, great ancestor, is the Chinese dynastic name given to the first emperor of a dynasty. Here it refers to *Hung wu*, 1368–99.

[†] I find no corroboration for these names.

Chʻen Chʻeng (*v.* p. 147), *Li Sien* of the Board of Revenues, and the chi hui *Kin-ha-lan-po* accompanied them, and bore letters for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the Chinese envoys returned, and *Ha-lie* and the other kingdoms all sent again tribute, and once more in 1416. In the same year *Chʻen Chʻeng* was again ordered to accompany the embassy back to Ha-lie, and orders had been given also that they should be well entertained in all the (Chinese) cities they had to pass through.[1106] Chʻen Chʻeng came back in 1417 in the company of an envoy from Herat. In 1418 again an embassy from this kingdom arrived, and *Li Ta* was ordered to accompany it home.[1107]

v. p. 151

[1106] Abder-razzak, *l. c.*: *Day Ming Khan*, Emperor of China, having again sent ambassadors to His Majesty (Shah Rok), they arrived in May 1417 at Herat. The chiefs of them were *Bibachin*, *Tubachin*, and *Jatbachin* (Quatremère reads: *Matchin*, *Toumatchin*, *Djatmatchin*), who came attended by three hundred horse, and brought with them an abundance of rarities and presents, such as ***shonkars*** (gerfalcons), damasks, ***khimka*** stuffs, vessels of China ware. They brought also royal presents for each of the princes and the agas. With them came a letter, the contents of which consisted generally of an enumeration of past favours and civilities, and of expressions of confidence in the future continuance of His Majesty's friendship. The points more particularly insisted on were, that both parties should strive to remove all constraint arising from distance of place and a diversity of manners, and to open wide the doors of agreement and union, that the subjects and merchants of both kingdoms might enjoy a free and unrestrained intercourse with each other, and the roads to be kept open and unmolested. Moreover, as, on occasion of the first embassy to China, the Amir *Seid Ahmed Tarkhan* had sent the Emperor a white horse, that animal had, it seems, proved particularly agreeable to him, and he now sent that lord a number of things in return, together with a picture of the horse drawn by a Chinese painter, with a groom on each side holding his bridle. The ambassadors were handsomely entertained, and at length, as on former occasions, received their dismission, when the Khakan (Shah Rok) sent *Ardashir Tavasky* back with them to China.

[1107] Abder-razzak reports *s. a.* 822 H. (1419): *Ardashir*, who had been sent to China, returned from there, and gave His Majesty an account of that country and of the approach of a new embassy. In October 1419 the Chinese ambassadors *Bimachin* and *Janmachin* arrived at Herat, and presented to Shah Rok the presents and rarities they had brought, and a letter from the emperor of China, a copy of which is here subjoined, written in their manner, which is this, they write the name of the monarch on the first line, and begin the other at some distance below, and when in

In 1420 an embassy from *Ha-lie* arrived at the Chinese capital,[1108] together with the envoys of *Yü-tʻien* (Khotan)

the course of the letter they come to the name of God, they leave off and begin a new line with that, and they follow the same method in writing the name of a sovereign prince.* The letter of the Emperor of China reads as follows :—

"The great Emperor of *Day Ming* sends this letter to Sultan Shah Rokh. We conceive that the Most High has made you knowing, and wise, and perfect, that the kingdom of the Islamites may be well governed, and it is owing to this that the men of that kingdom are become prosperous. Your Majesty is of an enlightened mind, skilful, accomplished, and judicious, and superior to all the Islamites. You honour the commands of the Most High, and you reverence the things that relate to him, which is the way to enjoy his protection.

"We on a former occasion sent Amir *Seyray Lida* † with others as our ambassadors, who arrived at Your Majesty's court, and you were pleased to receive them with much honour and ceremony, which *Lida* and the rest represented to us. Your ambassadors, *Beg Buka* and the others, also arrived here with Lida and the rest on their return, and delivered at this court all the presents of onces, lynxes, and Arabian horses; and other things which you sent us. We viewed them all. You have on this occasion displayed the sincerity of your affection, and we are exceedingly sensible of your kindness. The western country which is the seat of Islamism has from old time been famous for producing wise and good men, but it is probable that none have been superior to Your Majesty. Well may we afford protection and encouragement to the men of that country, for we deem it consonant to the will of Heaven that we should do so. Indeed, how should not the Most High be well pleased with those men who practise mutual affection, where one heart reflects the sentiments of another, as mirror opposed to mirror, and that though at a distance! In the eye of friendship, generosity and civility are precious above all things, but even in these also there is something more particularly so. We now send *Uchang-ku* and others, in company with your ambassadors Beg Buka and the rest, who will deliver to Your Majesty our presents, consisting of seven *shonkars* (gerfalcons), each of which we have flown with our own hands, and *kimkhas*, &c. The shonkars are not produced in this our Empire of China; they are constantly brought us as rarities from the sea-coast, so that we have plenty of them, but in that country of yours it seems they are scarce.‡ We have sent you choice ones, such as might be deemed worthy the great soul of Your Majesty. In themselves, to be sure, they are of little value, but as they are tokens of our affection, we and *Ba-da-hei-shen* (Badakhshan), and in 1422 Ha-lie sent another envoy, who arrived together with the envoy of *Yü-tʿien.*

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* This etiquette is still observed in official letters in China.

† The ambassador *Li Ta*, often mentioned in the Chinese records.

‡ The Pen ts‘ao kang mu, chap. xlix., sub *Ying*, states that the gerfalcons are brought from a country in the north situated on the Sea of Manchuria, which is in accordance with what M. Polo (i. 262) states about the native country of the peregrine falcons of Tartary. I may however observe, that the gerfalcons of Eastern Asia are not the same as those used in the West. The former are much larger in size.

The emperors *Jen tsung* (1425–26) and *Süan tsung* (1426–36) generally did not pay much attention to distant countries and were not in the habit of sending envoys abroad, on which account embassies from those countries

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trust they will be acceptable to Your Majesty. Henceforth it is requisite that the sincerity of our friendship be increased, and that ambassadors and merchants be always passing and repassing between us without interruption, to the end that our subjects may all live in plenty, ease, and security. We may then assuredly hope that the Most High will make us experience more of his goodness and mercy.

"This is what we have thought proper to write to you."

Each time that letters from the Emperor of China were thus brought to His Majesty there were three, and each was written in three different sorts of character: that is to say, first in the vulgar character, in which we now write, and in the Persian language; secondly, in the Moghul character, which is that of the *Yegurs* (Uighurs), and in the Turkish language; and thirdly, in the Chinese character and language. But the purport was exactly the same in all. There was another letter which contained a particular account of the things sent, whether living creatures or other rarities, and was written in like manner in three languages and characters. And there was likewise a letter to answer the purpose of a pass. The dates of months and years inserted in each were those of the Emperor's reign.

The above English translation from Abder-razzak's Matla-assaadein by Chambers has been copied from the "Asiatic Miscellany." Quatremère, who translates the same work, gives some additional information about the same Chinese embassy (*l. c.* p. 305).

On the last day of the month of Redjeb 822 (August 22, 1419), the ambassadors of Khata, accompanied by Ardeshir, arrived at Samarkand, and offered magnificent presents to Mirza Ulug Beg, who entertained them handsomely, and then they departed for Khorassan. In the same year, in October, the ambassadors of Khata, on their way home, visited again Mirza Ulug Beg in Samarkand.

On the 9th of September 1420 *Abuka* (it seems the *Beg Buka* noticed in the emperor's letter) and Pulad Timur arrived from China with a great train and were well received.

[1108] This was the famous embassy of Shak Rok to the Chinese emperor, a detailed narrative of which has been preserved in the Matla-assaadein (*v. supra*, p. 153). This embassy left Herat on December 5, 1419, arrived at Samarkand, February 6, 1420, where they were joined by the ambassadors from Badakhshan and others. They reached Peking, December 14, 1420, and stayed there till May 1421, when they set out for their homeward journey. They reached Herat, September 2, 1422.

were seldom seen in China during their reigns. However in 1427 one of the chieftains of *Ha-lie*, by name *Da-la-han I-bu-la* (Tarkhan Ibrahim?), presented horses as tribute, and in 1432 the emperor despatched the eunuch *Li Kui* to the countries of the West, and entrusted him also with a mission to *Sha-ha-lu* (Shah Rok), to whom he had written the following letter:—

"In times past, after my ancestor T'ai tsung wen huang ti (Yung lo 1403–25) had mounted the throne, you and the rulers of other countries used to send embassies with tribute to the Chinese court. Having respectfully accepted the throne from Heaven, I now rule over the ten thousand kingdoms. For my reign I have adopted the name *Süan te*, and taking an example of the glorious reign of my ancestor, I look upon the people indiscriminately with benevolence. Previously I sent you a letter and presents, but owing to some hindrances on the way, my envoy did not reach you. Now, as the communication has been re-established, I send you my adjutant with a letter, in which I express you my thoughts, and invite you to sustain amicable intercourse with us, that we may constitute one family. May the tradesmen of our countries travel and traffic as they like. Will that not be an excellent thing?"

Li Kui had not yet reached *Ha-lie*, when an envoy from that country by name *Fa-hu-rh-ding* (Fakhr-eddin) arrived at the Chinese capital, where he died in the official lodging-place. He was buried by imperial order with the marks of honour due to his position.

Another embassy from Ha-lie, bringing with him camels, horses, jade, &c., accompanied Li Kui when he returned to China, and when this embassy went home, in the next year in the spring, Li Kui accompanied it again to bestow presents on the king of Ha-lie and some of his chieftains. They reached Ha-lie in the autumn of the same year.

Under the year 1438 again an embassy from Ha-lie to the Chinese court is recorded. (The Ming Geography calls the head of this mission chi hui *Ha-dji*.)

As *Ying tsung* (1436–50) was under age when he was placed on the throne, and as the ministers neglected the intercourse with the foreigners, tribute-bearers arrived only in small number. In 1457, when Ying tsung had ascended the throne for the second time (he was kept prisoner by the Mongols for nearly two years, see p. 166), he decided to re-establish the former intercourse with the *Si yü,* and in 1463 sent a number of military officers with letters and presents for the foreign rulers of the various countries. The tu chi hui *Hai Yung* and the chi hui *Ma Ts'üan* were despatched to *Ha-lie,* but this country sent no more embassies to China.[1109]

The accounts which now follow, on the customs, productions, &c., of Herat, are drawn for the greater part from the repeatedly quoted narrative *Shi Si yü ki* (see p. 147), of which the Ming Geography gives some extracts.

Ha-lie is one of the most powerful kingdoms of the *Si yü.* The city in which the great king (*ta wang*) resides is ten *li* in circumference. The houses there are built of stones and resemble a high level terrace.[1110] The interior, comprising several tens of *kien,*[1111] is empty.[1112] The doors and the windows show beautifully carved work adorned with gold and precious stones. They spread over the floor carpets, which they sit on cross-legged.

They call their sovereign *so-lu-ta'n* (Sultan), which in their language means *kün chang* (supreme ruler). The men shave their heads and wrap them about with a piece of white cloth. The women cover their heads with white cloth and leave only apertures for the eyes. The white colour is considered the colour of joy, whilst black is the mourning colour.[1113] Superiors and inferiors when speaking one to another simply address each other by their names. When they meet they bow slightly the body and bow three times the knee. At their meals they do not use spoons or chopsticks. They have porcelain vessels. Wine is made there of grapes. In trade they use three kinds of silver coins, large and small ones. It is not forbidden to cast coins privately, only it is requisite to pay the king a certain tax, whereupon the coins are stamped with the seal of the king. Coins without this stamp are not allowed.[1114] They do not barter. The taxes are two from ten. Measures (of liquids and corn) are unknown there. Everything is sold by weight.[1115] They have no (separate) government offices, but there is a (general) office called *dao-wan.*[1116] They have also no capital punishment. Manslaughter or murder is punished by a mulct.[1117] According to their customs two sisters are allowed to be the wives of the same husband. (Not allowed in China.)

[1109] At the time here spoken of, Sultan Abu Said of Samarkand ruled also over Herat and Khorassan. He had taken possession of Herat in 1458.

[1110] The houses in Persia have all flat horizontal roofs.

[1111] *Kien* means a division of a room made by the framework. It may be taken also as a unit for measuring rooms.

[1112] As is known, no furniture is found in Persian houses. The Persians sit and sleep on their carpets spread over the floor.

The term for mourning is a hundred days. When burying the dead, they do not put the body in a coffin, but wrap it only up with a cloth.[1118] They offer sacrifices on the grave. They neither sacrifice to their ancestors nor to good or evil spirits. They pray frequently to heaven.

The cycle (of Chinese chronology) is unknown there. But they have a cycle of *seven* days. The first day is called *a-tʻi-na,*[1119] on which the people assemble and pray to Heaven. The other (six) days they attend to their business. They fast twice a year, in the second and the tenth month, and then they eat only at night-time.[1120]

[1113] In China white is the mourning colour.

[1114] A. Conolly, who in 1833 spent a considerable time in Herat, states that the taxes levied on coinage are considerable, and that besides this, excise is levied on goods of every description brought to the city. Every article, even meat, is provided with the Shah's stamp (Ritter, viii. 255).

[1115] Even now-a-days a rule adopted all over Persia.

[1116] Evidently the *divan* or Council of State is meant.

[1117] Even in our days a murderer in Persia is allowed to ransom himself from capital punishment; for the latter there is only an act of vengeance.

[1118] This is still a rule in Persia.

In the middle of the city (of Herat) there is a great building erected of clay. This is a college, called *mo-derh-sai*[1121] in the language of the country. In it a large copper vessel has been placed, which is several fathoms in circumference, with letters engraved on it. It resembles in shape the ancient (Chinese) vessels called *ting* (a large tripod vessel).

[This passage about the vessel is only found in the Ming shi.]

In the Shi Si yü ki, from which the Ming Geography draws, we read that in the middle of the college there is a great house in which the *yu hio* (lit. travelling scholars, students) live. It is provided with rooms on all four sides and a gallery runs all around. The literary men are wont to repair to this college as the Chinese scholars to the *ta hio* (university).[1122]

The people in Ha-lie live very luxuriously. There are foot-runners who run 300 *li* in one day. The country is very fertile; the climate is hot. Rain is scarce. The following productions are found there:—

[1119] *Adhineh,* meaning properly "festival," is the Arabic name for Friday, which, as is known, with the Mussulmans answers to our Sunday (Bibl. Orient.).

[1120] With respect to Mussulman fasts, compare notes 187 and 232, and Chardin, "Voy. en Perse," vii. 132 *seq.* Besides the great fast in the month of Ramazan, the Persians observe the fast of devotion on the 10th of Moharrem.

[1121] *Medresseh*, a high school or college in Persian.

[1122] Herat has always been considered as being one of the centres of Mohammedan learning. It is the native place of many celebrated scholars. As to the large vessel seen by the Chinese reporter, I may notice that Mohun Lal, the companion of A. Burnes, who in 1833 spent seven months in Herat, mentions a similar ancient vessel there. We read in his report (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, iii. 17): At the east end of the city is the Great Mosque, erected by Sultan Ghiassuddin, the old king of Gur, 700 years ago. In the square of this mosque is a small cistern of water for ablution and a large heavy vessel of tin made by Sultan Ghiassuddin. The circumference of it is twenty spans, and the thickness of the edge is one. There are inscriptions written on the borders of the vessel, dated also, 700 years ago.

White salt, copper, iron, gold, silver, glass, corals, amber, pearls. The people rear plenty of silkworms and manufacture silk stuffs.

So-fu is the name of a stuff made of bird's down and resembles silk (see note 1060).

Hua t'an (variegated carpets). They are very fine, and never change their colour.

Among trees they have mulberry trees, elms, willows, acacias, firs, cypresses.

As to fruits, they cultivate peaches, apricots, plums, pears, pomegranates, grapes and the *ba-dan hing* (*badan*, apricot).[1123]

The cereals and vegetables of Ha-lie are millet, wheat, hemp, beans, &c. Rape of enormous size, weighing ten *kin*, is found there.

The domestic animals are horses, cattle, sheep, dogs, fowls. There are also lions and panthers.

The kingdom of *Ha-lie* borders to the east upon *An-du-huai* (Andhui) and *Ba-la-hei.*[1124] Both are subject to it.

K'I-LI-MA-RH (KIRMAN ?).

This country sent tribute in the reign of Yung-lo (1403–25). The envoys offered skins of beasts, bird's feathers, carpets, woollen stuffs.

The people there are fond of hunting and do not till the ground. K'i-li-ma-rh borders to the south-west on the sea; to the north-east are dense forests, giving shelter to many ferocious beasts and poisonous insects. There are in the city streets, but no market-places. The people use iron coins.[1125]

[1123] *Badam* is the Persian name for almond. See note 26.

[1124] Instead of *Ba-la-hei* (Balkh), as the name is written in the Ming Geography, the Ming shi has *Ba-da-hei-shang* (Badakhshan).

[1125] Perhaps *Kirman* is meant. This city is famed for its carpets and

I-SZ'-FU-HAN (ISFAHAN).

This country is situated near *An-di-gan.*[1126] In 1416 the emperor Yung-lo sent an embassy to *An-du-huai* and *Sa-ma-rh-han,* and the envoy proceeded also to *I-sz'-fu-han,* bestowing presents upon the ruler.[1127] In 1419 this country, together with the adjacent kingdom *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), sent tribute, and presented to the emperor a lion, a leopard, and western horses.[1128] The envoys were rewarded, and when they went home the Chinese envoy *Lu An* accompanied them. There was a man (of the embassy) by name *Ma-ha-mu* (Mahmud) who begged to be left in Peking. The emperor consented. In 1431 Isfahan sent an envoy, by name *Mi-rh-ali,* to China.

In 1483 *I-sz'-fu-han* sent tribute together with *Sa-ma-rh-han,* and presented a lion, fine horses, swords, *tou-lo,*[1129] *so-fu* (see note 1060). The envoys were richly rewarded.

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woollen stuffs. However, there are in the Chinese account some statements which do not agree with Kirman. I am not aware that in any country of the world iron coins should be used.

[1126] This is a geographical error of the Ming historians. Andekan, as we have seen, is situated in Ferghana.

[1127] In 1403 Timur conferred the government of Isfahan on Mirza Rustem, son of Mirza Omar Sheikh, Timur's second son. In 1408 he was expelled from Isfahan by his brother Pir Mohammed of Fars, and after the death of the latter his brother Mirza Eskender took possession of Isfahan. In 1414 Shah Rok re-installed M. Rustem in Isfahan, and the latter held it to the day of his death in 1445. After Sultan Abu Said of Samarkand and Herat had been put to death by Uzzan Hassan, the founder of the Turkoman dynasty of the White Sheep, in 1469, the latter became sovereign of a great part of the dominions of the house of Timur. He made himself master of Irak (Isfahan) and Fars (Shiraz). But in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Ismaël I. Sofy, the founder of a new Persian dynasty, defeated the Turkomans and established his authority over the whole of Persia.

[1128] The embassy of Shah Rok to the Chinese emperor on its homeward journey met the envoys from *Shiraz* and *Isfahan* near the Chinese frontier in August 1421.

[1129] This seems to be a fabric of cotton. The Ming Geography notices it among the productions of *Bang-go-la* (Bengal). Groeneveldt, "Malay Archipelago," Appendix, states that *to-lo,* now-a-days *to-lo-ni,* means broad cloth.

SHI-LA-SZ' (SHIRAZ).

Shi-la-sz' lies near *Sa-ma-rh-han.*[1130] In 1413 an envoy from this country arrived at the Chinese capital, together with the embassies from *Ha-lie* (Herat), *An-di-gan*, and *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), and others, altogether eight kingdoms. These embassies followed *Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai* (a Chinese envoy who was returning from the western countries), presented their tribute, and when they went home they were accompanied by (the repeatedly mentioned Chinese envoys) *Li Ta* and *Ch'en Ch'eng*, who carried presents for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the chief of *Shi-la-sz'*, by name *I-bu-la-ghin*,[1131] sent an embassy, which arrived at the capital together with the afore-mentioned Chinese envoys. At the time they had reached China, the emperor was in the north (at war with the Mongols). When in the next year, in the summer, the envoy from Shi-la-sz' returned home, *Ch'en Ch'eng* and *Lu An* went along with him to bestow presents upon I-bu-la-ghin, and to hand over an imperial letter to him.

In 1419 *Shi-la-sz'*, together with *I-sz'-fu-han*, sent embassies to the Chinese court. They presented to the emperor a lion, a leopard, and fine horses. When they returned they were accompanied by *Lu An,* who carried rich presents for the respective rulers, namely, fine silk stuffs, girdles, porcelain vessels. At that time China was waging war in the north (with the Mongols), and was therefore in want of horses. Accordingly Shi-la-sz', Samarkand, and the other countries were induced to send horses as tribute.

[1130] There can be no doubt that by Shi-la-sz', *Shiraz*, the capital of Fars, is meant. It is therefore strange that in the above record Shiraz is located near Samarkand. I may, however, observe that there was a little town *Shiraz*, with a castle, at a distance of four farsangs from Samarkand. This place is once mentioned in the Zafer nameh (vi. 45), and several times in the Matla-assaadein.

[1131] The dynasty of the Mozafferids reigned in Fars (Shiraz) when Timur invaded Persia in 1387 and 1392. After the destruction of this dynasty, Timur, in 1393, conferred the government of Fars on his son Mirza Omar Sheikh, and after the death of this prince in 1394 on Omar's son, Pir Mohammed. The latter was assassinated in 1410, and his brother, M. Eskender, obtained the government of Fars. This prince revolted against Shah Rok, was defeated, and Shah Rok in 1414 appointed his second son, Mirza *Ibrahim Sultan*, to the government of Fars. Ibrahim, who had his residence at Shiraz, died there in 1435. In 1452 Sultan Baber of Herat took possession for a short time of Shiraz. He was expelled from there by the Turkomans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Ismaël I. Sofy conquered Fars.

In 1423, in the eighth month, the envoy from Shi-la-sz' had an audience of the emperor at his travelling palace at *Süan hua fu.*[1132] He was kindly received and richly rewarded, and then proceeded to Peking. A number of his followers remained (or were retained) in China. It was not till after Jen tsung's accession to the throne (1425) that they went home.

In 1427 Shi-la-sz' sent camels, horses, and products of the country as tribute. The envoy, named *A-li,* who presented the tribute, received rich presents, and the rank of tu chi hui was conferred on him.

After this for a long time no embassy from Shi-la-sz' was seen in China, when in 1483 again an envoy from that country arrived, in the company of other embassies from *Hei-lou* (see p. 272), *Sa-ma-rh-han,* and *Ba-dan-sha* (Badakhshan), and *I-sz'-fu-han.*

In 1492, when *Shan-ba,* who had been elected prince of Hami (see p. 182), was about to marry a wife from the neighbouring tribe *Ye-mie-k'o-li* (see note 941), the ruler of Shi-la-sz', taking into consideration that they were poor, united with his neighbour the ruler of *I-bu-la-yin,* and both sent to the Chinese court envoys, namely, the councillor *So-ho-bu-dai* and the director *Man-k'o,* to solicit a wedding-gift for Shan-ba. The emperor took their intercession kindly, and made rich presents to Shan-ba, and also to the mediators and their envoys.[1133]

[1132] North-west of Peking, on the road to Mongolia and Siberia. The ruins of an imperial palace can still be seen at Süan hua fu.

[1133] This statement is very obscure. Farther on in the Ming shi, *I-bu-la-yin* appears once more as the name of a country.

In 1524, *Shi-la-sz'*, together with thirty-two adjacent tribes (cities), sent horses and other products of their countries as tribute to China.[1134]

After this no embassy from Shi-la-sz' was seen in China.

T'AO-LAI-SZ' (TAURIZ).

This is a small country, which extends hardly 100 *li*. The city is situated in the neighbourhood of mountains. At the foot of the mountain there is a red-coloured water (river), which has the appearance of fire. The people show reverence to Buddha. The wives rule the houses. The country produces camels, horses, cattle, sheep. The people manufacture woollen cloths, and cultivate millet and wheat. Rice is not produced there.

In 1431 *T'ao-lai-sz'* sent tribute to the court. In the next year the emperor despatched the eunuch *Li Kui* to that country with a letter and presents (for the ruler); but as T'ao-lai-sz' is a small realm, it was not able to send tribute again.[1135]

T'IEN FANG (ARABIA, ESPECIALLY MECCA).

The ancient name of this country was *Yün chung* (see farther on). It is also termed *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly hall) and *Mo-kia* (Mecca). From *Hu-lu-mu-sz'* (Hormuz, see p. 132) it can be reached by sea in forty days. Navigating from *Ku-li* (Calicut) in a south-westerly (mistake for north-westerly) direction, one arrives at T'ien fang in three months. The tribute from T'ien fang was carried (in the days of the Ming) frequently by the overland route, and entered through *Kia yü kuan.*

[1134] At the time here spoken of the Sofyan dynasty ruled over Persia. See note 1131. Shah Ismaël I. died in 1524.

[1135] My identification of *T'ao-lai-sz'* (see also p. 144) with *Tauriz* or *Tabriz*, the capital of Azerbeidjan, would properly not be admissible from the scanty and somewhat contradictory accounts given in the Ming shi about this place. But the Chinese sounds T'ao-lai-sz' represent exactly Tauris. The above phrase, that the people show reverence to Buddha, appears several times in the Ming shi, referring to Mohammedan countries of Western Asia. Hirth, in his "China and the Roman Orient," p. 284, quotes a Chinese cyclopædia in which the Koran is called *Fo king*, or Buddha's Canon.

Clavijo, who visited Tabriz in 1404, states (87) that the city is in a plain between two high ranges of hills, and the hills on the left hand are very near the city and very hot, and the water which descends from them is not wholesome.

In 1404 Timur appointed his son, M. Miran Shah, to the government of Azerbeidjan, but some years after the death of the conqueror this province was taken possession of by the Turkomans.

In 1430, when *Cheng Ho* (see p. 142) had been sent to the countries of the Western Ocean, he despatched one of his companions to *Ku-li* (Calicut). Having heard that a trading vessel was about to depart from this place to T'ien fang, he ordered him to join this party, and take with him various Chinese goods as presents (for the ruler). This trading vessel took a whole year to go to T'ien fang and return. The Chinese envoy had bought there fine pearls, precious stones, a *k'i lin,*[1136] a lion, a *t'o ki* (camel-fowl),[1137] and when he returned, the king of T'ien fang sent one of his officers (named *Sha-huan* according to the Ming Geography) to accompany him, in order to present tribute to the Chinese emperor. The emperor received him kindly and rewarded him richly. He was sent back in 1436 with presents for his sovereign on board a ship from *Chao-wa* (Java), which had brought tribute.

In 1441 the king of T'ien fang sent his son *Sai-i-de A-li* (Seid Ali), in the company of the envoy *Sai-i-de Ha-san,* with tribute to the Chinese court. They proceeded by the overland route, and carried with them pearls and precious stones. When this embassy had reached *Ha-la* (Kara-khodjo, see p. 186) they were attacked by robbers. The envoy was killed, the son of the king of T'ien fang was wounded in his right hand, and they were robbed of all their goods. The emperor ordered the authorities at the frontier to inquire into the case, and to take steps accordingly.

In 1487 a Mohammedan from T'ien fang named *A-li,* being desirous of meeting his elder brother, who had rambled in China for more than forty years, and who now was in the province of Yün nan, set out for the Middle Kingdom. He took along with him plenty of merchandise, and when he had reached *Man-la-kia* (Malacca) he went on board a trading vessel carrying tribute to China. The party arrived at *Kuang tung* (Canton), where the eunuch *Wei Küan*, then superintendent of the foreign trade at that place, tried to squeeze Ali. The latter departed indignantly, and proceeded to the Chinese capital, where he preferred a charge against Wei Küan. The Board of Rites proposed to estimate the goods he presented as tribute, to reward him accordingly, and allow him also to proceed to Yün nan to visit his brother there. But meanwhile Wei Küan, who was afraid of being punished, had succeeded in bribing the respective officers at court, and Ali's case took another turn. He was represented to the emperor as a spy, who had come to China under the pretence of offering tribute. Accordingly the governor of Kuang tung received orders to send him away, and Ali, notwithstanding his lamentations, was forced to leave China.

[1136] The Chinese unicorn. See note 876.

[1137] The ostrich. See vol. i. note pp. 143, 144.

In 1490 the king of T'ien fang, by name *Su-t'an A-hei-ma* (Sultan Ahmed), sent an envoy to China, who arrived together with the embassies of *Sa-ma-rh-han* and *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan). He presented as tribute horses, camels, and jade.

In the beginning of the reign of Cheng te (1506–22) the superintendent of the imperial horses and stables proposed to commission the military governor of *Kan su* to procure western mares and geldings. One of the foreign envoys having reported that the best horses were found in T'ien fang (Arabia), the governor of Kan su replied that the best way would be to address the respective envoys when they arrived with tribute at court. But upon the proposition of the president of the Board of War and others, an order was given to the governor to select a number of clever men and despatch them with interpreters to those countries, in order to make known there the wishes of the emperor.

In 1518 the king of T'ien fang, by name *Sie-i Ba-la k'o*,[1138] sent an envoy to the Chinese court offering as tribute horses, camels, knives made of fish-teeth, and other things. In return he received for his sovereign precious garments, silk stuffs, musk, &c.

In 1525 the king of T'ien fang, named *I-ma-du-rh*, and other princes despatched an embassy to China, presenting as tribute horses, camels, &c. On this occasion the Board of Rites presented to the emperor a report in which it was pointed out that the embassies from the west on their way to the Chinese capital used to be oppressed and retained, sometimes for more than half a year, by the officers in the province of Shen si, who in their reports accused the foreign envoys that the jade presented by them as tribute was all of bad quality, whilst these envoys retained the best pieces to sell them on their own account. The Board of Rites proposed to bring an action against those officers, and, in order to avoid annoyances on the road, to prohibit the importation of jade in great quantities. The emperor agreed.

In the next year (1526) the king of T'ien fang, *E-ma-du-k'ang*, and seven other princes of the same country, sent their envoys with tribute to China. This tribute consisted of jade;[1139] but as this jade was coarse and of bad quality, *Ch'en Kiu chuan*, a councillor of the office charged with the affairs of the foreigners, refused to accept it. The envoys of T'ien fang then became indignant, and the interpreter *Hu Shi shen*, who was also vexed by the measures taken by Ch'en Kiu chuan, wrote down a complaint in the name of the envoys, in which the councillor was falsely accused of having stolen jade. The latter, on account of this charge, was imprisoned, and even tortured, and, notwithstanding the intercession of high-placed persons, he was exiled to the frontier.

[1138] Wüstenfeld in his "Geschichte der Stadt Mecca," 1861, gives a list of the sherifs of Mecca, which place in the fifteenth century was subject to the sultans of Egypt, and subsequently became a Turkish province. The Siei Balako in the Chinese record is perhaps the Sherif *Barakut*, 1497–1524.

[1139] As is known, valuable jade (*yü* in Chinese) is found only near Khotan (see p. 249). But the Chinese annals mention frequently the *yü* among the productions presented as tribute by the envoys from the countries of Western Asia. This is not easily understood. Although the Chinese state (see p. 249) that the foreigners use to steal jade from the rivers of Khotan, it is, however, unlikely that the Arabian embassies, *e.g.*, should have stolen jade at Khotan. But perhaps these foreigners bought jade somewhere on their road to China.

In 1532 an embassy from T'ien fang arrived at the capital together with embassies from *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) *Ha-mi*, *Sa-ma-rh-han*. It turned out that the embassy from T'ien fang had been sent by thirty-seven rulers, who all titled themselves *wang* (kings or princes, see note 929). The Board of Rites then made a report in which it was pointed out that the embassies from the countries of the *Si yü* arrived too frequently, and that the number of men with them was too large. It was further stated there that these foreigners came to China under the false pretence of bringing tribute, but that their principal aim was to spy out what was going on at court. The Board of Rites thought that strict orders should be given to the officers at the frontier not to allow the foreigners to proceed in great numbers to the capital, but to retain a part of the people accompanying those embassies, despatched by rulers who were only nominally vassals of China. The emperor approved of this proposal.

According to the former regulations, when foreign embassies had reached the frontier, the Chinese officers were bound to examine the goods selected for being offered as tribute, and write down a list of all these articles. According to this list the Board of Rites afterwards had to decide with respect to the return presents bestowed on the embassies. The rest of the goods, not comprised in the list, were allowed to be sold by the embassies on their own account. In the event of this merchandise not having been sold when the embassies departed, they had the choice either to take it along or to sell it to the Chinese government, which paid in paper money according to the estimate made by the Board of Rites. Towards the end of the reign of *Cheng te* (1506–22), when it had been proved that the compradores (who attended to the embassies) made a bad use of these rules, it had been decided that all goods not presented as tribute had to be estimated by official brokers, whereupon the Chinese government bought them in exchange for silk and paper money.

Now, then, when the afore-mentioned embassies from T'ien fang and the other countries arrived in 1532, the goods which had not been registered as tribute, namely, jade, files, knives, and other articles, were stopped; but at the request of the envoys the Chinese government agreed to accept them also as tribute and to assess a reward accordingly. These embassies of the foreigners consisted for the greater part of merchants who carried goods for the Chinese market. The covetous Chinese officers at the frontier caused them all kinds of annoyance in order to squeeze them, and often they appropriated to themselves even goods intended for tribute. But in this year, 1532, the envoys were all clever men, knowing well the circumstances, and they preferred a charge against the officers, which, however, was not paid attention to by the Board of Rites. It happened at the same time that the eunuch *Ch'en Hao* in Kan su had sent his slave *Wang hung* to extort from the envoy (from T'ien fang) a number of fine horses, jade, and other things. The envoy waxed indignant, and when one day he met Wang hung in the street, he ordered him to be seized and delivered up to the authorities, explaining at the same time the case in Peking. Then the Board of Rites proposed to make an example of the delinquents, because the honour of the government had been affected by these abuses. Accordingly a commission composed of high officers was despatched to Kan su to inquire into the matter, and the guilty were sentenced.

In 1538 T'ien fang sent again tribute, and the envoy solicited permission to travel in the interior of China. But the Board of Rites suspected him to be a spy, pointing out, besides this, that there was no instance of such a request having ever been acceded to. Thus the envoy met with a refusal.

In 1543 T'ien fang, together with *Sa-ma-rh-han*, *T'u-lu-fan*, *Ha-mi*, *Lu-mi* (Rum), and other countries, presented as tribute horses and other products, and in the sequel T'ien fang sent tribute every five or six years. Even during the reign of *Wan li* (1573–1620) Chinese intercourse with T'ien fang still continued.

I may here notice that among the supplications translated by Amiot (see p. 149) there are two addressed to the Chinese emperor by envoys from T'ien fang: 1. *A-lo-ting*, envoy from T'ien fang, presents as tribute jade and *so-fu* (see note 1060), and solicits tea-leaves. 2. *Sha-chu-ting* presents as tribute jade and ten western horses, and solicits silk, tea-leaves, and porcelain.

Before continuing the translation from the Ming shi with respect to Arabia and Mecca, I may premise a short description of that country as found in the *Tao i chi lio*, an account of the countries of the Archipelago and the Indian Ocean by *Wang Ta yüan*, who visited most of the countries he describes in the first half of the fourteenth century. The Ming Geography quotes some passages from Wang Ta yüan's notices of Arabia. I prefer translating the article *in extenso* from the original.

In *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly hall, thus the author terms Arabia) there are many vast deserts. This is the country anciently known under the name of *Yün-chung*. It has a pleasant climate, the air being vernal in all four seasons of the year. The soil is fertile and produces plenty of rice. There is an overland road from (the Chinese province of) *Yün nan* to this country, by which it can be reached in one year. Another way leads to it by the Western Ocean.

They have in T'ien t'ang the calendar of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans). With respect to the Chinese calendar *shou shi li*,[1140] it shows a difference of three days. There is no error in their (astronomical) calculations (as in China). The climate is warm. The people are of good character. Men and women braid their hair. They are dressed in long coats made of fine (cotton or linen) cloth, and gird themselves around also with a piece of fine cloth. The country produces western horses measuring eight feet and more in height. The people like mare's milk, and usually mix it with their food. For this reason they are fat and handsome. For commercial purposes they use silver (coins). They manufacture satin of five different colours.

The Ming shi concludes the article on Arabia, or especially Mecca, with the following notices of the country, the customs, products, and sacred places there :—

T'ien fang is a great kingdom in the *Si yü*. Its climate is warm the whole year, as in summer. Rain, hail, hoarfrost, and snow are unknown there. But the dew is very heavy, and produces sufficient moisture to cause the herbs and the trees to thrive. The soil is fertile, and produces millet and wheat. The people are all tall. The men shave their heads and wind a piece of cloth about them. The women cover their heads and take care not to expose their faces.

People say that the name of the founder of the religion of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans) is *Ma-ha-ma* (Mohammed). He was the principal teacher of this country, and when he died he was buried there.[1141] On his tomb there is a light which never goes out. The people still adhere faithfully to this religion, and therefore they are all good. Oppressions and revolutions are unknown there, and they have also no capital punishment. The officers and the people always agree. Robbery and theft are likewise not to be met there.[1142] *T'ien fang* is considered to be a blessed country.[1143] The use of wine is forbidden there. They have temples in which they pray. At the beginning of each month the ruler, the officers, and the people all assemble to pray to Heaven with loud exclamations.

[1140] *Shou shi li* was the calendar system invented by *Kuo Shou king*, the great engineer and astronomer of Kublai Khan. It was in use throughout the Yüan dynasty. Compare also note 187.

[1141] As I shall show farther on, this description here of T'ien fang refers properly to Mecca, and thus the Chinese record intimates that Mohammed was buried at this place. The reporter took the Kaaba for the tomb of Mohammed. This error with respect to Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been frequently repeated by the mediæval travellers. See Friar Odoric's narrative in Yule's "Cathay," p. 66. Even Mandeville, who had served the Saracens in Egypt, states the same.

The (principal) temple is of a square form, each side of it measuring 90 *kien* (see note 1111); thus the four sides are 360 *kien.* The columns are all made of white jade (marble), the floor is of fine yellow jade. There is (in the middle of the courtyard of the temple) a hall representing a cube. The steps leading to the hall are composed of stones of five different colours. In the interior there are five large rafters of aloe-wood. The door-screens are all of gold. The wall in the interior of the hall has been made of clay mixed with attar and ambergris. The gate is guarded by two black lions.[1144]

[1142] Burckhardt in his "Travels in Arabia," i. 218, says the same with respect to the people of Mecca, but adds that on the other hand this place abounds in cheaters and beggars.

[1143] The Arabian province of Yemen, the Arabia Felix of the ancients.

[1144] Here evidently the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Kaaba in it are described. In the Kaaba, as is well known, the famous sacred *black stone* is kept, an object of the greatest veneration. It is supposed to have been one of the stones of Paradise, originally white, though since blacked by the kisses of the sinful but believing lips. The worship of stones is a very old form of Semitic cult (Palmer's "Quran," 1880, i. p. xiii.). This celebrated stone, not mentioned by the Chinese travellers of the Ming period, is noticed in the T'ang History as early as the seventh century. (See my "Notes on the Knowledge Possessed by the Chinese of the Arabs," &c., 1871, p. 7). It is stated there that a lion disclosed to Mohammed the existence near Medina in a hole of a mountain of a sword and black stone with the inscription, "Whoever possesses me becomes ruler." Detailed descriptions of the Great Mosque of Mecca, the Kaaba, the black stone, &c., are found in Ibn Batuta, i. 305–319; Chardin's "Voyage," vii. 163 *seq.;* Burckhardt's "Travels," i. 134–162. The Kaaba stands in the middle of the square courtyard of the Great Mosque. This

To the left (east) of the hall is the tomb of *Sz'-ma-i*, who was a sacred man in this country. The tomb is covered with precious stones, and the wall around is made of yellow jade.[1145]

On both sides stand two magnificent halls built of stone, in which the doctrine (of Mohammed) is preached.

Behind the tomb of *Ma-ha-ma* there is a well, the water of which is limpid and sweet. People who start for the sea-voyage use to take along with them some water from this well, for it has the property of appeasing the waves in time of storm when sprinkled over the sea.[1146]

The vegetables, fruits, and domestic animals in this country are the same as in China. There are water-melons and melons of enormous size. Sometimes one man is not able to take them up. There are peaches weighing from four to five *kin*, and fowls and ducks of more than ten *kin* weight. Such things are not found in foreign countries.[1147]

These reports with respect to the customs, &c., of T'ien

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courtyard, which is 200 paces broad and 250 long, is surrounded on all four sides by vast colonnades. According to tradition, the Kaaba was built by Ismaël, the son of Abraham, and long before Mohammed the people used to make pilgrimages to the sacred stone.

The chief shrine of the faith is the *Kaaba*. The name, which simply means a cube, was given to it on account of its shape, it being built square. The name of *T'ien fang* applied in the days of the Ming to Arabia, and referring especially to Mecca, means "heavenly square." The Si shi ki, referring to the middle of the thirteenth century, states (see i. p. 141) that west of *Bao-da* (Bagdad) twenty days' journey is *T'ien fang*, in which the divine envoy of Heaven is buried. The second character in the latter name means "house," and the name "Heavenly house" is evidently intended for *Beitullah*, house of God, as the Arabs call the Great Mosque of Mecca. Another traveller of the Yüan, in the fourteenth century, as we have seen (p. 300), terms Arabia (Mecca) *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly hall).

[1145] Evidently the tomb of *Ismaël* is meant. The Arabs consider Ismaël to be their ancestor. Compare with respect to Ismaël's tomb in the Great Mosque of Mecca, Ibn Batuta, i. 312.

[1146] The well *Zemzen*, one of the most venerated objects in Mecca, is believed to be the spring which Hagar discovered when she fled into the wilderness with her son Ismaël. Ibn Batuta, i. 318; Burckhardt, *l. c.*

[1147] Chardin, *l. c.*, also reports that Mecca abounds in vegetables and fruit.

fang refer to the time when *Cheng Ho* (see p. 142) had been sent to the Western Ocean. But subsequently the circumstances have changed, and the number of rulers there has reached even twenty or thirty.

MO-DE-NA (MEDINA).

This is the country of the ancestor of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans). It is situated near *Tʻien fang* (Mecca).

In the reign of *Süan te* (1426–36) the chief of *Mo-de-na,* together with the ruler of Tʻien fang, sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China.

It is reported that the first ruler of Mo-de-na was *Mo-han-me-de* (Mohammed).[1148] He was endowed with divine spirit, and subdued all countries of the *Si yü.* All western people venerate him as *bie-yin-ba-rh,*[1149] which in their language means divine envoy. They have in this country a sacred book which consists of thirty parts, and contains in the whole 3000 and more *tuan* (sections).[1150] It is written in three different letters, the *chuan, tsʻao,* and *kʻie.*[1151] These letters are in use all over the *Si yü.*

According to their religion the people consider Heaven to be the supreme ruler. They have no images (or idols) in their temples. They pray every day piously, bowing towards the west. They fast one month every year. Then they bathe and change their clothes. It is a custom among the people to change frequently the houses they dwell in.

[1148] Indeed Mohammed was first proclaimed ruler in Medina, where he had retired after his flight from Mecca.

[1149] *Peighember* = prophet in Persian.

[1150] The *Koran,* the religious and moral code of the Mohammedans, written by Mohammed, is divided by some people into thirty, by others into sixty parts. It comprises 115 chapters and 6300 verses (Chardin, *l. c.* ix. 164).

[1151] *Chuan* is the name for the ancient Chinese characters or seal characters ; *tsʻao* are the running-hand characters ; *kʻie* is the square elegant style of Chinese characters. The Koran was originally written in the *Cufic* or ancient Arabic characters. The Arabic running-hand characters, *naskhi,* were invented in the tenth century. Chardin (*l. c.* iv. 275) states the Arabs have seven different styles of characters.

During the reign of *Kai huang* of the *Sui* dynasty, *Sa-ha-ba Sa-a-di Gan-go-sz'*, a man who had arrived from *Mo-de-na*, first taught the Mohammedan doctrine in the Middle Kingdom.[1152] At the time of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty, the Hui-hui were met everywhere in China. The Hui-hui adhere faithfully to their religion, and never turn apostate. They are all well versed in astrology, medicine, music. They weave figured stuffs and manufacture fine vessels. They do not eat pork. Even when they travel to other countries, they do not change their customs.

Besides Mecca and Medina, the Ming History notices several other countries and places of Arabia. These accounts are found in chap. cccxxxvi., where the countries reached from China by the sea-route are treated of.

Dsu-fa-rh, a Mohammedan country situated to the north-west of *Ku-li* (Calicut), distant from this place ten days' sail with favourable winds. To the south-east of this country is the Great Ocean, to the north-west are high mountains. There are to be found ostriches. Among the products are mentioned *ju-hiang* (olibanum), *an-si-hiang* (storax), *su-ho yu* (also a kind of storax), *mo yao* (myrrh), *lu-hui* (aloes), *hüe kie* (dragon's-blood). In 1422 an embassy from Dsu-fa-rh reached China.[1153]

A-dan, situated west of *Ku-li* (Calicut), can be reached by sea from that place in twenty-two days with a favourable wind. The country is devoid of grass and trees. The first embassy from A-dan to China was sent in 1427. These embassies were subsequently often repeated.[1154]

[1152] Regarding this passage see i. p. 266.

[1153] *Zhafar* or *Dhafar*, on the south-eastern coast of Arabia. It was an important trading place in ancient times; the *Sapphara* of Ptolemy, the *Dufar* of M. Polo, ii. 439. Ibn Batuta calls it *Zhafar*, and states that the sea-voyage from Zhafar to Calicut takes one month. Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, mentions (p. 29) *Diufar* among the towns of the Arabian coast east of Aden. There is now no town of this name, but it survives attached to a well-watered and fertile plain opening on the sea.

La-sa. This country is reached from *Ku-li* with a favourable wind in twenty days. It is devoid of grass, for it never rains there.[1155]

LU-MI (RUM).

This country is very far from China.[1156] In 1524 an embassy from *Lu-mi* arrived, and presented as tribute a lion and a western ox. One of the imperial councillors laid before the emperor a report in which he pointed out that Lu-mi does not range among the countries which used to send tribute, and that a lion is not a beast proper for being kept. He proposed to refuse such presents. Another high officer reported that the Chinese authorities at the frontier had detected among the people belonging to the embassy from *Lu-mi* some men from *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan), and as Turfan constantly made predatory incursions on the Chinese dominions, he proposed to treat the envoy from Lu-mi as a spy, and send him beyond the Chinese frontier. However, the emperor accepted the presents, but ordered that the authorities at the frontier should inquire into the matter.

[1154] *Aden* was known already to the Romans, as is testified by Philostorgius, who wrote in the fourth century. It is mentioned as a seaport on the Arabian coast by all the early Arab geographers. Edrisi, in the twelfth century (i. 51), says that from Aden ships sailed for Hind, Sind, and China. M. Polo mentions Aden frequently. Barbosa (26–28) gives a detailed description of *Adem* and its trade.

[1155] This is probably *El Hasa*, a province on the east coast of Arabia. In the days of Ibn Batuta (ii. 247) there was also a city of this name.

[1156] My identification of *Lu-mi* with *Rum* is founded only upon similarity of sounds, and the statement in the Chinese record that Lu-mi is at a great distance from China. From early times the Persians and other Asiatics applied the name of *Rum* to the Roman Empire, and after its division, referred it especially to the Eastern or Byzantine Empire, which, as is known, included the whole of Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, &c. *Rum* and the *kesars* of *Rum* are frequently mentioned in the Shah nameh. The Arab geographers continued to use the same name for designating the territories of the Byzantine Empire in Asia and Europe. Mas'udi (ii. 293) correctly derives the name of Rum from the city of Rom. He, as well as Tabari (ii. 1–31), give a list of the kesars of Rum, beginning with

In 1526, in the winter, an embassy from Lu-mi brought again specimens of the same beasts as tribute. After return presents had been conferred upon the envoy, the latter solicited also payment of the expenses of his journey, which, owing to the great distance, amounted to 12,000 and more pieces of gold. But upon the protest of one of the councillors, the beasts were not accepted, and the envoy had to content himself with a meagre remuneration.

In 1543 Lu-mi sent an embassy, which arrived at the Chinese capital together with the embassies from *T'ien fang* and other countries. They presented horses and products of the country. The next year the embassy returned home. When they arrived at *Kan chou,* it happened that robbers from the north had crossed the Chinese frontier. The Chinese commander of the troops selected ninety of the men from Lu-mi and sent them against the robbers; nine of the former were killed in this expedition. When the emperor had been informed of this event, he ordered the slain to be buried with all marks of honour.

Augustus and concluding (Mas'udi) with the emperor Romanus I., about A.D. 920. When, towards the end of the eleventh century, the Seljukian Turks established their power in Asia Minor, the Asiatic nations retained the name of Rum for the territories of this monarchy, but, as appears from Abulfeda (II. i. 315; II. ii. 133), continued to call the Byzantine Empire likewise Rum. Subsequently, when, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Seljukian dynasty disappeared, and the Ottomans succeeded them in these territories, the name of Rum was transferred to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, in the days of Timur and his successors, this name was applied by the Mohammedans, as now-a-days, to the dominions of the Ottoman Sultans in Asia and Europe. In the Zafer nameh Rum is identified with *Anatolia* (iii. 28, 55, &c.). Sherif-eddin calls Bayazed, the Ottoman emperor, whom Timur made prisoner in 1402, *Kaiser i Rum.*

The Chinese annals record several embassies from *Lu-mi* to China in the sixteenth century. It is not said that they had been despatched by the rulers of this country. I have not been able either to find in the history of the Ottoman empire any allusion to a diplomatic intercourse with China.

In 1548 and in 1554 again embassies from Lu-mi arrived. They presented as tribute corals, amber, diamonds, porcelain vessels, *so fu* (see note 1060), curtains made of *sa-ha-la* (shawl, see note 1061), *ling yang* (antelope), skins of western dogs, skins of the *she-lie-sun*,[1157] *t'ie-kio-pi*.[1158]

MI-SI-RH (EGYPT).[1159]

Mi-si-rh or *Mi-sz'-rh* sent an embassy with tribute to China in the reign of Yung lo (1403–25). It was well treated, and the members of it were provided with meat and drink every five days. Orders had also been given to entertain them everywhere on their way through the Chinese dominions.

In 1441 the king of Mi-si-rh, by name *So-lu-t'an A-shi-la-fu*,[1160] sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court. The Board of Rites on this occasion made a report stating that Mi-si-rh is a very distant country, and that the presents usually bestowed on the foreign embassies ought to be diminished. The emperor consented. Then the presents for the king of Mi-si-rh, his wives, and the envoy are enumerated.

After this no embassy from Mi-si-rh was seen in China.

Father Amiot (*l. c.* 241) has translated (from the Chinese version) a letter written by *Mo-li ko* (Malek), sovereign of *Mi-sz'-rh*, addressed to the emperor of China, to whom he had sent one of his officers, by name of *Ku-li*, to offer three horses of the breed *a-lu-gu* (see note 1071). As this letter, like all the letters translated by Amiot, bears no date, it is impossible to say what Sultan of Egypt had sent this embassy. Almost all the Sultans of the Mameluk dynasty had the title Malek.

[1157] *Shelasun* is the Mongol name for the lynx.

[1158] Literally iron horn's skin. Unknown to me.

[1159] See i. p. 141, and ii. p. 135.

[1160] This embassy had been sent, it seems, by the famous Sultan *Bursbay*, the only one of the Sultans of the Mameluk or Circassian dynasty in Egypt who had the title of *Malek al Ashref* (sublime king). According to Weil, "Gesch. d. Chalifen" (v. 167–208), he reigned from 1422, and died on the 7th of June 1438. The envoy may have been despatched from Egypt a short time before the Sultan's death, and it is not unlikely that he did not reach China till three years later. The above Chinese text properly says that the Sultan himself came to China, but there are probably characters wanting, for farther on it is stated that an envoy was at the head of this Egyptian embassy.

Amiot has translated also (*l. c.* 247) a letter, without date, of a certain *Mai-mo* from *Pei-se-le*, depending on the kingdom of *Fa-rh-sa-li-ko*, who offered two leopards to the emperor; and p. 246 we find the translation of another letter addressed to the emperor written by *Ho-che-han-tung* of *Ty-mi-shi* (Di-mi-shi).

A. Rémusat, who had seen a copy of the original text of these letters, written in Persian, found that *Pei-se-le* (Bei-se-le) was intended to render the name of Bassora, and *Di-mi-shi* stood for *Dimishk* or Damascus ("Mélanges Asiat.," ii. 249).

As to the remainder of the countries and cities of Western Asia (and perhaps also Africa) mentioned in the last chapter of the Ming History as having sent tribute to the Chinese court by the overland routes, I shall give a translation of the Chinese accounts, which are somewhat obscure, without venturing on any identification. I am at a loss what to make of these names of countries, cities, and sovereigns, &c., occurring in the subjoined record. As has been proved in the foregoing pages by comparative investigations, the historical as well as the geographical records of the Ming shi concerning the greater kingdoms of Central and Western Asia are generally in good accordance with what we know on the same subject from Mohammedan sources, and there is therefore no reason for supposing that the Chinese chroniclers should have invented names of foreign countries and rulers. Rémusat (*l. c.*) has, however, suggested that the letters of Western

Asiatic sovereigns and envoys to the Chinese emperors, translated by Amiot, had been fabricated by the Chinese envoys sent to the western countries, but who themselves never reached these countries. It is needless to say that this is an arbitrary and utterly unfounded view. Rémusat besides this was mistaken with respect to the time these letters had to be assigned to. He believed that they had been addressed to emperor *K'ang hi* (1662–1723) of the present dynasty. It seems that in the days of K'ang hi China had indeed no intercourse with the countries of Western Asia. Thus, in the first edition of the great Chinese geography *Ta Ts'ing I t'ung chi*, published in 1744, previous to the conquest of Ili and Eastern Turkestan by the emperor *K'ien lung* and to his missions to Western Turkestan and Ferghana, in the section on foreign countries and the map appended we meet with respect to the countries situated north-west of China only with the names of *Ha mi*, *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan), *Ye-rh-k'in* (Yarkend), *Ba-li-k'un-rh* (Barkül), and *Wu-lu-mu-ts'i ho-t'un* (city of Urumtsi), for embassies from these places came to the Chinese court in the reign of K'ang hi, at the close of the seventeenth century. It seems that the open communication which existed, as related in the foregoing pages, between China and the countries of Central and Western Asia by the overland route in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had subsequently been suspended for more than a century.

After this digression we now continue the translation of the Chinese accounts regarding the countries of the west, as found in the Ming History.

A-SU.

A-su is situated near *T'ien fang* (Arabia) and *Sa-ma-rh-han.*[1161] It is a vast country. The city (capital) leans against a mountain, and on the other side it is bordered by a river, which flows southward and empties itself into the sea. The country produces plenty of fish and salt. The people till the ground. They show reverence to Buddha (see note 1135) and dread spirits. They are charitable and disposed to peace. *A-su* is a rich country. The climate there is cold and warm, according to the seasons. Dearth is unknown. Theft and robbery are not frequent.

[1161] Nonsense. There are probably characters wanting in the Chinese text.

In 1419 the ruler of this country, by name *Ya-hu Sha*, sent an envoy to China to present to the emperor as tribute horses and products of the country. The envoy was kindly received. But A-su did not send tribute again, owing to the great distance from China. In 1463 the emperor sent the tu chi hui *Po Ts'üan* thither, but no embassy from that country was seen again in China.

SHA-HA-LU.

It lies on an island in the sea west of *A-su*. In the reign of Yung lo (1403–25) an embassy (caravan) consisting of seventy-seven men arrived from Sha-ha-lu with tribute to the Chinese court. This country is surrounded by mountains and rivers, and is rich. The people are good-natured and disposed to peace. They show reverence to Buddha (see note 1135). The ruler and the high officers live in the city, whilst the people dwell outside. Many rare sea-products are found there. The merchants from the *Si yü* purchase them at low rates. The people are ignorant with respect to the value of these articles.

PO SUNG HU RH.

The original name of this country was *Su-ma-li*. There is a white tiger living in a pine grove. It does not kill men and does not eat other animals. This white tiger is visible only once in ten days. The people consider it to be a sacred animal. This is the white tiger the soul of which descended to the western countries.[1162] For this reason the name of the country was changed into *Po sung hu rh.*[1163] Great mountains are not met there, and there are also no forests. Poisonous insects and ferocious animals are likewise unknown. The products are scarce. In the reign of Yung lo tribute was sent from this country.

[1162] To make this strange statement intelligible, I may observe that the *po hu* or white tiger is the Chinese symbol for the west. They have also

HUO-LA-DJA.

This is a little insignificant country surrounded by mountains on four sides. It has little grass and trees. The river flows in many windings, and has neither fish nor shrimps. The city (capital) is only about one *li* in circumference. The houses are all built of clay. The chief of that country also lives in a miserable house. The people hold the priests[1164] in esteem.

In 1460 Huo-la-dja sent an embassy with tribute. It was well received in China, and order was given to entertain the embassy in all cities of China they passed through. In 1492 a Mohammedan from that country named *P'a-lu-wan* (Pehelevan, see note 1076) with his followers arrived in China by the sea-route, and offered as tribute glass, agate, and other things. The emperor did not accept these presents. Orders were given to pay him the expenses of his journey and to send him back.

DA-RH-MI.

This country is situated in the sea, and is subject to Samarkand. It is only 100 *li* in extent. The population amounts to not more than 1000 families. There are no cities surrounded by walls. The high and the low all live in wooden houses. They carry on agriculture and manu-

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symbols for the other quarters of the globe ; the azure dragon, *ts'ing lung*, represents the east ; the red bird, *chu kio*, the south ; the black warrior, *hüan wu*, accompanied with a tortoise and a snake, the north. Comp. Legge's *Liki*, i. p. 92 note.

[1163] *Po sung hu rh* means tiger of the white pines.

[1164] *Seng* means properly a Buddhist priest, but if applied to western countries, it may be a priest of any religion. See also note 1135.

facture woollen cloth. They have horses, cattle, camels, and sheep. The people are punished with the bamboo. They have silver coins.

In the reign of *Yung lo* (1403–25) an embassy from that country arrived with tribute. Return presents were made. They received the Chinese calendar, silk stuffs, sundry medicines, and tea.

NA-SHI-DJE-HAN.

It is situated several days' journey by ship west of *Shi-la-sz'* (altogether contradictions). East of the city the land is level, fertile, and abounds in water and grass. Many kinds of cattle and several races of horses are bred there. There is a small breed of horses not more than three feet high. The people hold priests in esteem, and everybody is obliged to offer them meat and drink. The people are of a quarrelsome character and like to fight. Whoever has been worsted is derided by the others.

In the reign of *Yung lo* an embassy with tribute arrived from that country. The envoy, when returning home, travelled through *Ho pei*,[1165] and then turning (to the provinces) inside the gate (*Kia yü kuan*), reached *Kan chou* and *Su chou*. Orders had been given to entertain the embassy at every place they passed through.

THE CITY OF *MIN-DJEN.*

In the reign of *Yung lo* an embassy arrived with tribute from this kingdom, which is a vast country with many high mountains. The people there traffic in the middle of the day, at which time the goods are exhibited. They like our porcelain and lacquered ware. The country produces rare perfumes. There are also camels and horses.

[1165] *Ho pei*, north of the Yellow River. It seems this embassy had come to Nanking, which in the beginning of Yung lo's reign was his residence.

JI-LO.

This country sent likewise tribute in the reign of *Yung lo*, and subsequently, in 1488, its king, named *I-sz'-han-da-rh Lu-mi T'ie-li-ya*, despatched one of his high officers with tribute to the Chinese court, and solicited in return silk stuffs, *hia pu*[1166] and porcelain. The emperor granted his request.

THE CITY OF *K'UN.*

It is situated in the *Si yü.* The inhabitants are Mohammedans.

In 1430 an envoy from *K'un* named *Dje-ma-li-ding* (Djamal-eddin) arrived at the court, and presented as tribute camels and horses.

Finally, the Ming shi reports that, in addition to the afore-mentioned countries which had intercourse with China, the official documents of the Ming enumerate a number of little realms in the *Si yü* which also used to send tribute to the Chinese court. The Ming shi terms them *ti mien* (places, localities). Their embassies to China passed through *Ha mi*, and entered at *Kia yü kuan.* They sent tribute every three or five years, and their caravans generally arrived in the company of those of the kingdoms of *Ha-lie* (Herat), *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), *Sai-lan* (Sairam), *I-li-ba-li* (Moghulistan), *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), *Sha-lu-hai-ya* (Shahrokhia), *A-su*, *Ba-dan* (Badakhshan). The number of the members of these (little) embassies was not allowed to surpass twenty-five men.

The following are the twenty-nine names of these *ti mien* given in the Ming shi without any particulars :—

[1166] A fabric made from the fibre of Bochmeria nivea, grass-cloth.

Ha-san.
Ha-lie-rh.
Sha-di-man.[1167]
Ha-di-lan (probably *Khotelan*, see note 1005).
Sao-lan (perhaps *Savran*, see i. 170).
Me-k‘o-li (a tribe near Ha-mi, see p. 178).
Ba-li-hei (Balkh).
An-li-ma (Almalik?).
T‘o-hu-ma (Toghmak, see note 897).
Ch‘a-li-shi (the Chialis of Hadji Mohammed, the Cialis of Goes. See pp. 200, 229, 236, 330).
Gan-shi.
Bu-ha-la.
P‘a-la.
Ni-sha-wu-rh (Nishabur).
K‘o-shi-mi-rh.
T‘ie-bi-li-sz’.
Huo-tan.
Huo-djan (Khodjend).
K‘u-sien.[1168]
Ya-si.
Ya-rh-gan (Yarkend).
Jung.
Bai (probably the city of this name in Eastern Turkestan).
Wu-lun.
A-duan.
The city of *Sie-sz’* (Sis in Asia Minor?).
She-hei.
Bai-yin.
K‘o-kia-shi.

The following eleven small countries or places, which also used to present tribute, did not send it through Ha-mi:[1169]—

K‘i-rh-ma.
Mi-rh-ha-lan.
K‘o-t‘o kia la dju ye di gan la dju (four names).
I-bu-la-yin (comp. p. 293).
Ko-shi-mi.
K‘i-rh-ghi-sz’.
Yü-nu-sz’.
Ha-sin.

[1167] The fortress of *Shaduman* is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh (i. 5, 20, iii. 20 &c.). It was situated between Samarkand and Karshi. There was also a territory *Hissar-Shaduman*, likewise frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh (iii. 2, 3, &c.). It seems this is the *Hissar* of our maps between Samarkand and Badakhshan.

[1168] Perhaps *Kusan* in Moghulistan, mentioned together with *Bai* in the Zafer nameh, see i. pp. 163, 230, and 330. Kusan is probably *Kucha*.

[1169] The thirty-three characters which now follow in the text, and which represent these eleven names, are placed one after another without separation. I therefore am not sure whether I have always correctly divided.

EUROPEAN NATIONS MENTIONED IN THE MING HISTORY.

In order to complete my sketch of the intercourse between China and the countries of the west in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the overland route, I may finally give some extracts from the more or less extensive articles devoted in the Ming shi to the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutch, whose nautical and commercial supremacy in the waters of Southern and Eastern Asia lasted during the second half of the Ming period, and who caused much trouble also to the Chinese. These somewhat confused accounts are found in the section treating of the countries reached from China by the sea-route.

The *Fo-lang-ghi* (Ferenghi or Franks) are said in the Ming shi, chap. cccxxv., to dwell near *Man-la-kia* (Malacca). In the reign of Cheng te (1506–21) they took possession of the latter country and expelled its king. In 1518 they sent a high officer, *Kia-pi-tan-mo* (capitano), and others with tribute to China. They went up the river with their big ships to *Kuang tung* (Canton), and caused great sensation by their tremendously loud guns. These guns are described in the record.[1170] These foreigners were lodged in the *Huai yüan* post-station, and a report was sent to the emperor. When an order returned to accept the presents and send the foreigners immediately away, the latter did not obey, and the ambassadors solicited permission to proceed to the capital. When the emperor (Cheng te) was travelling in the southern provinces (end of 1519), they despatched an envoy named *Huo-dja Ha-san* to the court. But meanwhile advice had been received from Canton that the Fo-lang-ghi had built houses and thrown up entrenchments (at the island Ta mang, see note 1171) and committed all sorts of atrocities. They were accused of robbery and kidnapping, and even suspected of eating children. The ministers influenced the emperor against the Fo-lang-ghi, and when Cheng te died (in February 1521), his successor Kia tsing took measures to drive them out.[1171] Farther on the same record states that

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[1170] More detailed accounts of these guns of the Fo-lang-ghi are found in a Chinese military treatise translated by the late W. F. Mayers in his article on the "Introduction of Gunpowder and Firearms among the Chinese." Journn. N. Ch. Br. As. Soc., new ser. vi. 1869.

[1171] A contemporary Chinese account of the same events, *i.e.*, the first arrival of the Portuguese in China, has been translated by the late W. F. Mayers in "Notes and Queries on China and Japan," 1868, p. 130.

The first intercourse of the Portuguese with China is recorded with all particulars by J. De Barros, the author of the classical history of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests in Asia. I refer for the present summary to D. W. Soltau's German translation of de Barros' "Asia," 1821, iii. pp. 63–76, 203–209.

Malacca had been conquered by the Portuguese (Alfonso d'Alboquerque) in 1511. Some years later, in 1515 or 1516, Jorge d'Alboquerque, then governor of Malacca, despatched *Rafael Perestrello* in a Malay junk to China. On the 12th of August 1516, no news having been received from Perestrello, the governor ordered *Fernão Perez d'Andrade* to sail for China. But this expedition failed, and Perez was compelled to return to Malacca, where he found Perestrello, who in the meanwhile had come back from China, having realised an excellent profit from the goods sold to the Chinese. It was then resolved that F. d'Andrade should try a second time to reach China. Having taken in a cargo of pepper, he set off with his squadron on June 17, 1517. *Thomas Pirez* accompanied him in the quality of an envoy from the king of Portugal. Although he was only an apothecary, he had the reputation of a clever man, well qualified for a diplomatic mission. On the 15th of August they reached the island called *Tamang*, which was three leagues distant from the Chinese shore, and where all the foreign ships which carried on trade with Canton had to anchor. F. d'Andrade met here with Duarte Coelho, his companion in the first expedition, who, after passing the winter in Siam, had reached this port a month ago. Notwithstanding the protestations of the Chinese authorities, F. d'Andrade with some of his ships sailed up the river to *Canton*, and saluted by firing the guns. The envoy, Thomas Pirez, was then landed with his suite. The Chinese received him well and lodged him in a comfortable house. The goods the Portuguese had carried with them were also landed and stored up. Whilst D. Coelho was despatched to Malacca to inform the governor of the arrival of the expedition at Canton, J. Mascarenhas received orders to explore the coast of China. He proceeded with a small number of junks to *Chincheo*, in the province of *Fo kieng* (Chincheo was the name given by the old Portuguese to the port of Chang chou in Fu kien). In August 1518 *Simão d'Andrade* arrived at the Fo-lang-ghi, having taken possession of *Ao*, in the district of *Hiang shan*, established a factory there, and

the port of the island of *Tamu* (Ta mang, *v. supra*). He had been sent to replace his brother Fernão, who had been recalled, and who sailed for Malacca end of September, leaving Pirez and the rest at Canton. Meanwhile intelligence had been received that the emperor of China had assented to receive Thomas Pirez, the envoy. It was, however, only in January 1520 * that Pirez set out from Canton to meet the emperor. The party went by boat to the mountains *Ma len shang* (the Mei ling chain), which separate the southern provinces *Kan sing* and *Kan tong* and *Fo kieng* (Kuang si, Kuang tung, and Fu kien) from the northern ones, and then proceeded to *Nan king*, where the emperor was then sojourning. This journey had taken four months.† The emperor enjoined the envoy to proceed to Peking, and having set out himself, he reached his capital in January 1521. Meanwhile some unfavourable reports had been received from Canton regarding the Portuguese. Owing to the influence of a subject of the Sultan of Malacca, they were denounced to come under the denomination of merchants to spy the country. Besides this, Simão Andrade, who had taken the principal command and had thrown up intrenchments in the island of Tamu, by his atrocious conduct had entirely reversed the good opinion the Chinese had formed of his countrymen. The Portuguese were even accused of kidnapping. Thus the emperor refused to see Pirez, and three months after he died.‡ The Chinese ministers advised the new emperor (Kia tsing) to put the envoy to death, but the emperor gave instructions that the Portuguese embassy be sent back to Canton and be kept in custody till further orders. The presents were also refused. After S. Andrade's departure in the same year, Diego Calvo had taken the command. When the news of the emperor's death reached Canton, the Chinese authorities summoned the Portuguese to withdraw with their ships from the island of Tamu, and as the latter refused, they were attacked by the Chinese squadron and driven off with heavy loss. Upon this event, which took place in June 1520 (I should think 1521), Pirez and his companions arrived at Canton, and were immediately thrown into prison.

No further information with regard to the intercourse of the Portuguese with China is found in de Barros, whose history concludes with the year 1539. He says nothing either with respect to the fate of Thomas Pirez, the first Portuguese ambassador to the emperor of China. Pirez' countryman, the adventurous traveller M. Pinto (see p. 155), who was in China about twenty years after the events above related had taken place, states that Thomas Pirez, after being punished with torture, together with from this place carried on trade with *Fu kien*. In 1549 they founded a city there.[1172] Subsequently men from *Ta Si yang* (the Great Western Ocean) arrived and settled in this city (the Jesuit missionaries, see farther on). In concluding the account of the Fo-lang-ghi the Ming shi states that they were formerly adherents of the Buddhist religion, but subsequently accepted the faith of the Lord of Heaven.

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* The dates given by de Barros do not seem to agree with the dates given for the same events in the Chinese annals. See de Mailla's "Histoire de la Chine," x. 297 *seq*.

† According to the Chinese annals, the emperor Chang te in 1519 was engaged in a tour in the southern provinces. He was in Nanking in October, and returned to Peking in November or December.

‡ According to the Chinese annals, Cheng te died in February 1521.

Besides the particulars given in the above account regarding the *Fo-lang-ghi* or Portuguese, their name occurs repeatedly in other pages of the Ming shi. In the article *Man la kia* (chap. cccxxv.) the conquest of Malacca by the Fo-lang-ghi in 1511 is recorded, and the measures taken by the Chinese government against these foreigners are spoken of. See Groeneveldt's translation in "Malay Archip.," &c., p. 134. Regarding their settling in Java and their trade there, see the article *Chao-wa*, chap. cccxxiv., and Groenev., *l. c.* 41. The Ming History further mentions, in the article *Su-lu*, chap. cccxxv., the attacking of the islands of the Sulu Archipelago by the Portuguese in the reign of Wan li (1573–1619). Groenev., *l. c.* 105. Finally, in chap. cccxxiii. the occupation of *Mei-lo-kü* (the Moluccas) by the Portuguese is recorded. Groenev., *l. c.* 118.

In the article *Lü-sung* (Ming shi, chap. cccxxiii.) the name of the *Fo-lang-ghi* appears once more, but in this case the Chinese do not mean the Portuguese, but refer to the Spaniards.

Lü-sung is even now-a-days the Chinese name for the *Philippine Islands*, and especially the great island *Luzon*,

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twelve of his companions, was exiled to the north of China, where he subsequently married a Chinese girl, whom he converted to Christianity, and that he died after a long residence in that country. Pinto in 1543 saw his daughter there. But according to other sources, Thomas Pirez was put to death in Canton in 1523 (Williams' "Middle Kingdom," ii, 429).

[1172] This city was named *Macao* by the Portuguese. It is the *Ao men* (gate of Ao) of the Chinese. *Ao* means properly a bay.

on which Manilla is situated. The first intercourse of the Chinese with *Lü-sung* dates from A.D. 1372, when first envoys arrived from that country at the Chinese court. After this the Chinese maintained regular intercourse with Lü-sung. According to the Ming annals, it was in the beginning of the reign of Wan li, thus about 1573, that the *Fo-lang-ghi* made their first appearance in the waters of the Philippines.[1173] The Chinese chroniclers report a curious story in connection with the first settlement of the Fo-lang-ghi in Lü-sung, stating that when these foreigners arrived they made rich presents to the king of Lü-sung, and begged the favour to occupy only as much land for building houses on as could be covered with the hide of an ox. The king, who did not take umbrage at this demand, assented, and then the foreigners cut the hide of an ox into narrow stripes, with which they surrounded a large area of land.[1174] The article on Lü-sung in the Ming shi fills nine pages and gives many other details concerning Chinese intercourse with Luzon and the conquest of the Philippines by the Spaniards.

The *Ho-lan* or *Hung mao fan* (red-haired barbarians), by which name the Dutch (Hollanders) are to be understood, are also treated at length in the Ming shi, in chap. cccxxv., where their conquests in the Indian Archipelago and their intercourse with China in the seventeenth century are spoken of. The Chinese chronicler notices that when Cheng Ho (see p. 142), in the first half of the fifteenth century, visited the countries of the Indian Sea, he did not hear of the Ho-lan. It is only in the reign of Wan li (1573–1620) that the first mention of them occurs in the Chinese annals. It is stated in this article that the Ho-lan dwell near the Fo-lang-ghi (Portuguese), whom, as we have seen, the Chinese locate near Malacca. In another passage we read that in the reign of Wan li the Chinese merchants of the province of Fu kien were permitted to go to *Ta-ni, Lü-sung*, and *Kiao-liu-pa* or *Ho-lan*, and carry on trade with these nations, who subsequently themselves ventured to come to China for trading purposes. Kiao-liu-pa is the Chinese name for *Batavia*.[1175] But at the end of the account it is correctly stated that the original country of the Ho-lan lies in the Great Western Ocean, and that they profess the faith of the Lord of Heaven. They are said to have red hair, tall bodies, blue eyes sunk deep in their heads. Their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long, &c. *Sub anno* 1602 it is related that the Ho-lan with their big ships proceeded to Lü-sung, attacked the country, and subsequently also came to *Ao* (Macao), which they likewise attacked.[1176] Some years later the occupation of the *P'eng hu* islands (*Pescadores*, between the Chinese coast and Formosa) by the Ho-lan is recorded, who arrived with two big men-of-war, established themselves there, and constructed huts of wood.[1177] Next they made an attack upon the territories of the Fo-lang-ghi in *Mei-lo-kü.* (More details with respect to the contest between the Dutch and the Portuguese for the Moluccas will be found in Groeneveldt's translation, p. 118.) Finally, mention is made in this article of the settling of the Dutch in Formosa, and notices regarding the same event are found in the article *Ki lung shan*, in chap. cccxxiii.

[1173] The Philippine Archipelago was discovered by Magellan, the first circumnavigator of the globe, in 1521. After several unsuccessful expeditions undertaken by the Spaniards to explore and conquer these islands, it was only in 1569 that the Spanish admiral Legaspe discovered *Luzon*. In 1571 the capital of Manilla was founded there, and successively the subjugation of the Archipelago throughout was effected. See Crawford's "Dictionary of the Indian Islands."

[1174] I am not aware whether this Chinese tradition has any foundation, but it is curious to find in an ancient Chinese record the well-known story of the foundation of Carthage by Dido repeated. Du Halde ("La Chine," i. 185) reports the same tradition in connection with the settling of the Dutch in Formosa in 1620. He draws also from Chinese sources, for the original of his translation is found in the *T'ai wan fu chi* or Chinese description of Formosa.

[1175] Seyger van Rechtern, in the narrative of his voyage to the East Indies (Batavia) in 1628, informs us that the city of *Batavia*, called *Jaccatra* by the Javanese, is known to the Chinese by the name of *Calappa*. In the same author I find the somewhat obscure passage, stating that the Chinese call the Dutch *Statices*, on account of the States.

[1176] According to Valentyn, who in 1724 wrote the history of the Dutch East India Company (established in 1602), the first appearance of the Dutch in the waters of the China Sea was in 1603, when two ships of the Company came to Macao and destroyed a Portuguese galleon there. In 1622 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Dutch to capture Macao. Their fleet besieged the Portuguese in this place, but they were repulsed with great loss.

By *Ki lung shan* (mountain of *Ki lung*) the Ming History seems to understand the island of Formosa, although Ki lung was only the name of a port on the northern coast of the island. It is still an important trading place. The Chinese record says that *Ki lung shan* is situated north-east of the P'eng hu islands. Its original name (at the time of the Yüan) was *Pe kiang* (northern estuary).[1178] In 1616 the *Ji-pen* (Japanese) settled in Ki lung shan, and some years later the *Hung mao fan* took possession of a place (harbour) called *T'ai wan*,[1179] built houses, and

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[1177] Seyger van Rechtern records that after the defeat the Dutch had suffered at Macao in June 1622, their fleet went directly to the *Pescadore* islands, where they built a fort.

[1178] Valentyn (resp. van Rechtern), in his account of the island of Formosa, states that the Chinese call Formosa *Pekeande.* Perhaps this is a corruption of the Chinese *Pe kiang.* The latter is not, as it would seem from the Chinese report, an ancient name for the port of Kilung, for *Pe kiang* is still the name of a place and a river on the western coast of Formosa, north of T'ai wan. See the map appended to the "Reports on Trade Chin. Marit. Customs," 1880.

[1179] *T'ai wan*, on the western coast of Formosa, now-a-days the capital city of the island. *T'ai*=high terrace, *wan*=bay, harbour. The Chinese apply the name of T'ai wan also to the whole island, called *Ilha Formosa* (beautiful island) by the old Portuguese.

We learn from Seyger van Rechtern that the Dutch, after taking possession of the Pescadores, rendered dangerous the commerce between China and Manilla, destroyed whatever they could seize of Chinese junks, and blocked up the mouth of the river of *Chincheo* (Chang chou) opposite Amoy, for the Chinese refused to grant them liberty of commerce. At length, in 1624 the Chinese concluded peace with the Dutch, and trade was permitted to the latter, who, however, on their part, agreed to evacuate the Pescadores. They sailed to Formosa, and took possession of a harbour on the south-western side called *Taiovan* (T'ai wan), where they built a fort named *Zealand.* This fort, the ruins of which can still be settled there. Besides T'ai wan, the article on Ki lung shan mentions also the ports of *Tan shui* (*Tamsuy*, now one of the treaty ports of Formosa on the north-western coast) and *Lang k'iao* (near the southern termination of Formosa), and a place *To-lo-man* (unknown to me).

On the first arrival of the red-haired barbarians in *Chao-wa* (Java) in the Wan li period, see Groeneveldt's translation from the Ming shi, pp. 40, 56.

In the same section of the Ming shi, chap. cccxxvi., there is also an article on *Fu-lin*, a country which has generally been identified with the Byzantine empire, a view which, however, has lately been controverted by Dr. F. Hirth, who, having compared all the Chinese accounts of various times referring to Fu-lin, has come to the conclusion that Fu-lin is Syria. See his able and interesting book, "China and the Roman Orient," 1855, where, on p. 64, also a translation of the article Fu lin in the Ming shi is found. Compare also Dr. J. Edkins' judicious remarks on Dr. Hirth's conclusions in his "Plea for Rome and Byzantium" ("Chinese Recorder," 1885).

seen, bears the date 1630. A Japanese colony, then resident there, soon retired, and the natives offered no opposition. The Dutch authority in Formosa ended in 1662, when they were expelled from T'ai wan by a Chinese chieftain and pirate, *Ching ching kung* (Koxinga of the Portuguese).

Valentyn records that the Spanish governor of the Philippines in 1626 fortified the port of *Kelung*, from which, however, the Spaniards were subsequently expelled by the Dutch. Thirty miles from this harbour, on the north-western shore, another settlement was formed at *Tan shui* (Tamsuy).

According to the Jesuit missionaries, the island of Formosa was unknown to the Chinese previous to A.D. 1430, when the discovery was due to the accident of a shipwreck ("Lettres Edif. et Cur.," xviii. 413). It is true that the name of T'ai wan appears first in the Ming History, but, as the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denys has proved in his able articles on Formosa ("Journ. Asiat.," 1874, 1875), this island was known to the Chinese in early times under the name of *Liu kiu*, *i.e.*, they included this large island in the group of the Liu kiu islands.

I-TA-LI-YA (ITALY).—THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES.

In this article, chap. cccxxvi., it is recorded that in the reign of Wan li (1573–1620) a man from that country, which is situated in the middle of the Western Sea, arrived at the Chinese capital (Peking). His name was *Li Ma t'ou.*[1180] He made a map of the world, with the title *wan kuo ts'üan t'u* (map of the ten thousand kingdoms), and stated in this work that there are in the world five *ta chou* (great islands, parts of the globe). The first is called *A-si-ya.* It comprises more than a hundred kingdoms, and China is one of them. The second is *Ou-lo-pa* (Europa), with more than seventy kingdoms. *I-ta-li-ya* ranges amongst them. The third is *Li-wei-ya* (Lybia).[1181] It numbers also more than a hundred kingdoms. The fourth is *A-mo-le-kia* (America). It is very large, and divided into a northern and a southern part. Afterwards the fifth was discovered and called *Mo-wa-la-ni-kia* (Magellanica).[1182]

With respect to the first arrival of the Jesuit missionaries at Peking, and their establishing themselves there, we find in the Ming shi the following details, which are in complete accordance with the information given on the same events by Trigault, Semedo, Du Halde, &c., and prove the authenticity of the reports of these missionaries.

[1180] This is the Chinese name which *Matteo Ricci* adopted in China. It can be read on his tombstone with Chinese and Latin inscriptions, raised by imperial order in the Portuguese cemetery situated near the (western) Ping tsz' men gate of Peking, where a great number of the early Jesuit missionaries repose. Ricci arrived in China (Macao) in 1582, but it was only in 1601 that he was allowed to come to Peking, where he died in 1610.

[1181] I am not aware why Ricci prefers this name to Africa.

[1182] Under this name the European geographers of that time included an extensive tract of land supposed to extend from close contiguity with South America to several degrees beyond the South Pole. Comp. Wylie's "Notes on Chin. Lit.," p. 47. *Pantoja,* likewise an Italian Jesuit, wrote in compliance with an imperial order, as an accompaniment to Ricci's map, a concise geography of the world, which after Pantoja's death was published in 1623 with some additions, under the name of *Chi fang wai ki.*

In the ninth year of the reign of Wan li (1581), *Li Ma t'ou* (Ricci) had first embarked, and after a sea-voyage of 90,000 *li*, arrived at *Ao* (Macao), in the district of *Hiang shan*, in the *Kuang tung* province. Then his doctrine infected China. In 1601 he arrived at *Peking*, and the eunuch *Ma T'ang* introduced him to the emperor with the presents he had brought as tribute. Li Ma t'ou stated that he was a man from *Ta Si yang* (the Great Western Ocean). Thereupon the ministers of the Board of Rites made a long report to the emperor, pointing out that this foreigner seems to be a liar, for according to the *Hui tien* (collection of the statutes of the Ming), there is indeed a country *Si yang Soli*, but nobody has heard of *Ta Si yang*. "Moreover, this man has appeared at court twenty years after his arrival in China. And what did he offer to the emperor as tribute? Nothing but strange things which have no resemblance to those rare and precious presents usually offered by the envoys from distant countries. He has brought, for instance, portraits of the Lord of Heaven and of his mother, and also some bones of immortals. As if an immortal who soars up to heaven should be provided with bones! *Han yü*, (a scholar) of the T'ang period, has said that such unclean things can only bring mischief, and therefore ought not to enter into the palace." After this, the report blamed the behaviour of the eunuch Ma T'ang, who, before introducing Li Ma t'ou into the palace, should have applied to the Board of Rites, as is the rule, that the things presented as tribute might have been examined. "This man (Ricci) is staying privately in a Buddhist temple of Peking, and we know nothing about him and his intentions. It is the rule that in the case of foreign countries sending tribute to the court, the envoys are rewarded and entertained as guests. Now we propose to bestow upon Li Ma t'ou a cap and a girdle, and to send him back. He ought not to be allowed to live secretly in either of the two capitals, nor to enter into intimacy with our people." After this the emperor came to no decision, when in the eighth month the Board of Rites again laid before him a report, complaining that they had been waiting vainly five months for His Majesty's decision in the matter of Li Ma t'ou. They now tried to prove that it would injure his health if he were staying any longer in Peking. "Just as a bird or a deer when put into a cage is mourning for its forests and luxuriant grass, likewise men also do not feel easy in a city." They stated further that Li Ma t'ou did not attach any value to presents, and they pretended that he himself was desirous of living in the mountains. Accordingly the Board of Rites proposed to send him to *Kiang si*, alleging that people living in the deep valleys and mountains of that province are said to attain a high age. However, the emperor did not pay any attention to these arguments. On the contrary, he was pleased with the man who had come from so far a country, and ordered him to remain in the capital, bestowing upon him rich presents, giving him a house, and paying for his maintenance. Subsequently the officers as well as the people conceived an affection for him, and held him in great esteem. He died in the fourth month of 1610, and was buried by imperial order in the western suburb of the capital (Portuguese cemetery, see note 1180).

On the first of the eleventh month of the same year an eclipse of the sun happened, and it turned out that the (Chinese) astronomer had made a grave mistake in his calculation, whereupon the emperor gave order to change the mode of calculation. In the next year the president of the Astronomical Board pointed out two men from the Great Western Ocean, by names of *Pang Ti wo* and *Hiung San pa*, deeply versed in astronomy, and who calculated according to methods unknown in China. A councillor of the Board of Rites proposed to examine again the Mohammedan system of calculating introduced by Hung wu (the first Ming emperor), and to invite for this deliberation the afore-mentioned foreigners. The emperor consented.

Since the time Li Ma tʿou had first entered the Middle Kingdom, his followers arrived in great numbers. One of them, by name *Wang Feng su*, who lived in Nan king, was an ardent propagator of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, and attracted the people of all classes, officers as well as the peasants in the villages. However, the Board of Rites hated the followers of this religion, and was always disposed to put them to all kinds of inconveniences. In 1616 the Board of Rites laid before the emperor a report, in which it was suggested that the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven was a fallacious and vicious one, exciting the people. It was tried also to prove that they (the missionaries) were *Fo-lang-ghi*.[1183] *Wang Feng su*, *Yang Ma no*, and others, were accused of seducing the people to assemble on the first and the fifteenth days of every month to the number of ten thousand men, under the pretence of praying, but in fact to plot secretly, in the same way as the (secret) society called *Po lien* (White Lotus) did, being also in collusion with the foreigners in *Ao* (Macao). The effect of this report was that an imperial decree went out banishing the followers of this doctrine to the province of Kuang tung. In the fourth month of 1618 *Pang Ti wo* addressed to the emperor a petition in which he solicited to be left with his companions, ten in number, in the capital, alluding to their merits and his having held an office in the capital for seventeen years. He tried also to prove that the doctrine had nothing to do with conspiracies, &c. But he was refused by the emperor, and the foreigners went away discontented. Subsequently *Wang Feng su* changed his name, and passed (again) into Nan king, where he taught secretly his doctrine as before. It was impossible to get at the truth.

In his country (I understand Wang Feng su's country) the people are very clever in making cannons. These cannons are larger than those brought from the Great Western Ocean. After one of these had been received in China, attempts were made to imitate them. But it was impossible to make use of these arms. During the reigns of Tʻien ki (1621–28) and Chʻung cheng (1628–44) men from *Ao* (Macao) came to the capital, and as they proved to be very clever in military arts, they were employed in the war in the north-east (against the Manchus).[1184]

[1183] As we have seen, the Chinese understood by this name (Ferenghi or Franks) generally the Portuguese, who, owing to their affairs in Macao, of course had a bad repute in China.

In the reign of Chʻung cheng (the last Ming emperor) it happened that the calculation of the calendar had fallen into disorder, and the Board of Rites proposed to apply to the followers of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, namely, *Lo Ya ku* and *Tʻang Jo wang* and others, to appoint a committee in order to rectify the ancient methods of calculation by means of the new system of the foreigners. The emperor agreed, and in 1628 a book was published with the title *Chʻung cheng li shu* (Almanack of emperor Chʻung cheng), which was superior to the former almanack *ta tʻung li.*

These (Christian) foreigners who had come to the east had in the Middle Kingdom the repute of being the most intelligent, learned, and honest men. They preached their doctrine, and wrote many useful books on matters never before heard of by the Chinese people. They never asked for any payment. They became well known among the people, and even high officers made them their friends.

After this the Ming History enumerates the following Jesuit missionaries under their Chinese names, indicating also their native countries :—

[1184] Detailed accounts regarding the Portuguese of Macao, who in about 1622 came to Peking, and assisted the army of the Ming against the Manchus, are found in Semedo's "China" (French transl., pp. 138, 146). Semedo at the time here spoken of was in Peking. See also my article on the subject, "China Review," vi. 339. In Marc d'Avalo's description of Macao, referring to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and published by S. van Rechtern, it is stated that the Portuguese had a gun-foundry there, where cannons of gun-metal and iron were cast.

Lung Hua min,
Pi Fang tsi,
Ai Ju lio,
Hiung San pa, } all from *I-ta-li-ya* (Italy).
Teng Yü han, from *Je-rh-ma-ni* (Germany).
P'ang Ti wo, from *I-si-pa-ni-ya* (Hispania).
Yang Ma no, from *Po-rh-tu-wa-rh* (Portugal).[1185]

NOTICE OF A CHINESE ITINERARY TO WESTERN ASIA OF THE MING PERIOD.

Before concluding these volumes, it remains for me to say a few words on a Chinese itinerary, sketching the overland route from the north-western frontier to the Mediterranean Sea, of which a full translation has been presented in the first edition of my Researches,[1186] but which I do not consider sufficiently interesting to be reproduced in these pages. It refers probably to the fifteenth century, was first published at the close of the Ming in a strategical description of China, and seems to have been compiled from various itineraries noted down by the numerous Chinese envoys who in that period visited the countries of Central and Western Asia.

[1185] The document above translated is an honourable monument raised in Chinese history to the memory of those venerable Jesuit missionaries who preached the gospel in China nearly 300 years ago. It proves at the same time that their statements with respect to their influence at the Chinese court and the conversion of the highest Chinese officers have by no means been exaggerated. In 1872 the learned Jesuit Fathers at *Sik ka way* (near Shanghai) published an interesting pamphlet with the title: *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum e Societe Jesu qui a morte S. Fr. Xaverii ad annum MDCCCLXXII Evangelio Propagando in Sinis adlaboraverunt.* The list shows also the names these missionaries adopted in China, and besides this, short biographical notes have been added. This useful compilation enables me to identify the names of the missionaries mentioned in the Chinese record. I may give here their European names:—

Li Ma t'ou, Matthæus Ricci, born at Macerata, in Italy, in 1552, arrived in China in 1582, died at Peking 11th May 1610.

Lung Hua min, Nicolaus Longobardi, born in Sicily in 1582, arr. in China 1597, died at Peking 11th December 1654.

P'ang Ti wo, Didacus de Pantoja, a Spaniard, born 1571, arr. in China 1599, died at Macao 1618.

Hiung San pa, Sabbathinus de Ursis, born at Naples 1575, arr. in China 1606, died at Macao 1620.

Yang Ma no, Emmanuel Diaz, jun., a Portuguese, born 1574, came to China 1610, died at Hang chou 1659.

Pi Fang tsi, Franciscus Sambiaso, born at Naples 1582, came to China 1613, died at Macao 1649.

Teng Yü han, Joannes Terrenz, born in Switzerland 1576, came to China 1621, died at Peking 1630.

T'ang Ju wan, Johann Adam Schall von Köln, a German, born 1591, came to China 1622, died at Peking 1666.

Lo Ya ku, Jacobus Rho, born at Milan 1590, came to China 1624, died at Peking 1638.

This Chinese itinerary, which bears the title *Si yü Tú ti jen wu lio, i.e.,* a sketch of the countries, the people, and the products of the *Si yü*, begins at *Kia yü kuan*, the important fortress at the north-western frontier of China (see note 937). Although the greater part of the geographical names mentioned on the route and in the vicinity of it escape critical investigation, owing to the scantiness of our knowledge with respect to these tracts from other sources, ancient or modern, we are nevertheless enabled to trace in a general way the lines of the itinerary. The mentioning of such places as *Sha chou, Ha mi, Karakhodjo, Turfan, Subashi,*[1187] *Kunmishi,*[1188] *Chalish* (Kharashar, see p. 315), *Ku sien* (Kucha, see p. 315), *Aksu, Kashgar,* in the first part of it, leaves no doubt that it follows the great highway through Eastern Turkestan along the southern slope of the Tʻien shan chain. As we have learned from the accounts translated above from the Ming shi, this was

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Ai Ju lio, J. Aleni, born at Brixia 1582, came to China 1613, died at Fu chou 1649.

The name *Wang Fen su* is not found in the list of the Jesuit missionaries. But from Semedo's "China" it would appear that the above Chinese name referred to the author of that book. *Alvarez de Semedo,* a Portuguese, born 1585, arrived in China in 1613, died at Macao 1658. On pp. 310–338 he gives a detailed account of the persecution and expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries from Nan king in 1617. He was himself then imprisoned by order of the Chinese authorities and sent to Canton. But three years later, after changing his Chinese name, he succeeded in establishing himself once more at Nan king. The list of the Jesuit Fathers gives *Lu Te chao* as Semedo's Chinese name.

[1186] See "China Review," v. 227.

[1187] Between Toksun and Kharashar (Russian map).

[1188] *Kumysh* of the Russian map, between Subashi and Kharashar.

indeed the way by which the numerous embassies and commercial caravans from the various countries of Western Asia used to proceed to China. Even the embassies from Badakhshan seem to have preferred this route to the shorter way passing by Khotan and Lopnor, on account probably of the great deserts the traveller has to cross in the latter direction. This fact is confirmed also by the narratives of Shah Rok's embassy to China (1420), and Hadji Mohammed's account of Cathay (1550). Goes (beginning of the seventeenth century), on his memorable journey from India through Badakhshan and the Pamir to China, passed also from *Yarkand* to *Aksu*, *Cucia* (Kucha), *Cialis* (Kharashar), *Turfan*, *Kamul* (Hami), *Chiaicuan* (Kia yü kuan), and from this latter place at the Chinese frontier reached *Socieu* (Su chou), where he died, April 11, 1607.

In the days of Mongol supremacy in Asia, however, in the thirteenth century down to the reign of Kublai Khan (1260), the great line of communication between Eastern and Western Asia lay along the northern slope of the T'ien shan mountains. Karakorum was at that time the residence of the Mongol khans, and this way was indeed the shortest from the Mongol capital to Transoxiana and Persia (*Karakorum*, *Altai*, *Bishbalik* (Urumtsi), *Sairam* lake, *Almalik* (Kuldja), *Chu* river, *Talas*, *Sairam*, *Tashkend*, *Samarkand*. (See Part I., "Chinese Mediæval Travellers.")

After Kashgar, we meet in our Chinese itinerary a series of names of places for which I have not been able to trace any corroboration elsewhere, and then five names appear which are easily recognised as those of five cities of Ferghana, viz., *Andidjan*, *Sharikhana*, *Marghilan*, *Ush*, and *Kanibadam*. From Ferghana we are led to *Herat*, but before reaching this city the road-book notices a number of names of places situated north and south of the road, amongst which we recognise the city of *Kaluga*, coupled with the *Iron gate* (see p. 274), and the cities of *Kunduz*, *Khulm, Balkh, Andhui.* After Herat we have *Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand,* and many other names unknown to me.

The rest of the itinerary is very dark and confused. Among the numerous geographical names appearing in it, I can trace with more or less certainty only the following places:—*Badakhshan, Bastam, Astrabad, Shiraz, Isfahan, Sultania, Tabriz,* and four months' journey west of the latter, *K'u-sz'-dan* (Constantinople). Hence we are transported to *Bagdad,* and then taken to *Mecca, Medina, Misz'-rh* (Egypt). From Egypt the itinerary turns to Asia Minor; at least among the cities mentioned farther on we can recognise *Siwas, Atina, Angora, Kutahieh, Brussa.* After Brussa the sea is mentioned, with big men-of-war navigating in it. The city last spoken of in the itinerary is *Lu-mi,* 1400 *li* west of Brussa. It seems that *Rome* is meant.

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* P'u ch'ang hai, name by which the Lopnor was known to the Chinese 2000 years ago (see ii. p. 191), means "reedy sea or lake." According to Przewalsky, almost the whole of the Lopnor is still thickly overgrown with reeds of enormous size.

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